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MEMOIR

UPON THE

NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN SPAIN

AND THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

WHICH LED

TO THE TREATY OF 1819.

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LED TO THE TREATY OF 1819.

WITH

A STATISTICAL NOTICE OF THAT COUNTRY.

ACCOMPANIED WITH AN APPENDIX,

CONTAINING IMPORTANT DOCUMENTS FOR THE BETTER ILLUSTRATION OF THE SUBJECT.

BY D. LUIS DE ONIS,

Late Minister Plenipotentiary near that Republick, and present Embassador from H. M. at the Court of Naples.

MADRID, 1820.

From the Press of D. M. De Burgos.

Translated from the Spanish, with Notes,

BY TOBIAS WATKINS.

BALTIMORE:

PUBLISHED BY FIELDING LUCAS, JUNR.

1821.

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DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, To wit:

Be it remembered, That on this twenty first day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty one, and of the independence of the United States of America the forty sixth, Tobias Watkins, of the said District, has deposited in this office the title of a book, the right whereof he claims as proprietor in the words following, to wit. "Memoir upon the Negotiations between Spain and the United States of America, which led to "the Treaty of 1819. With a Statistical notice of that country. Accompanied with an Appendix, containing important Documents for the better illustration of the subject. By D. "Luis De Onis, late Minister Plenipotentiary near that Republick, and present Embassador "from H. M. at the Court of Naples. Madrid, 1820 From the press of D M De Burgos. "Translated from the Spanish, with Notes, by Tobias Watkins." In conformity to the act of the Congress of the United States, entitled "An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned:" And, also, to the act, entitled "An act supplementary to an act, entitled 'An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned,' and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints."

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand, and affixed the publick
[L. S] seal of my office, the day and year aforesaid.

EDM. I. LEE, Clk. of the Dist. Court for the Dist. of Col.

PREFACE BY THE TRANSLATOR.

The Memoir of Don Luis De Onis, on the subject of his negotiation with the government of the United States, was put into my hands, by a much esteemed friend, who had received it from the author himself, on the 27th of June; and before I had read a line of its contents, it was suggested to me, that a *translation* would be acceptable to the American publick, among whom some partial notices of it had already excited considerable interest and curiosity. Having consented to undertake the task, it became important both to the Printer and myself, that the utmost expedition should be used in its execution, lest we might be anticipated in the book market, and thus lose the fruits of our respective labours. Thus excited to activity by the spur of interest, a *race* forthwith commenced between us, which after an obstinate contest of *nineteen days*, was decided to be, what the jockies call a *dead heat;* for though, to continue the metaphor, I *came out first*, the Printer alleges, in bar to my claim of victory, that I had a *form*, the *start* of him; and further, that it was morally impossible he could reach the goal *before* me.

It will hardly be expected, that a translation so hurried, can be free from errours: there must necessarily be many, both of style and typography. But I am aware, that *precipitation* can never be a sufficient excuse to the publick, for the faults of an author, or translator, who comes *voluntarily* before them: they would have a

right to answer his prayer for clemency on that plea, that so far as they were concerned, he was the arbiter of his own time, and might have used the requisite deliberation. This would be critically just: nor do I mention the rapidity of my translation, with a view to *apologize*, but to *account*, for the errours that may be found in it.

The reader of the following pages, will soon find reason to pronounce them a most extraordinary production; he will perceive that they contain a singular mixture of the veriest slander, and the most extravagant eulogy, of our country and countrymen, that was ever heaped upon them by foe or friend. The double object which the author had in view, led him, of necessity, into many contradictions and absurdities. He had been accused of sullying the dignity of his royal master, and wounding the interests of his nation, by a *disgraceful* treaty; and this charge naturally involved the suspicion, that he had been influenced in his negotiation either by *fear* or *partiality* for the Americans. In combatting this twofold accusation, it was important, that he should show the political and physical strength of the United States, in its utmost magnitude: that he should demonstrate the impossibility of defending the Spanish provinces in America from the ambitious grasp of this colossal power: and that he should draw such a picture of the people, as might lead to the inference that contempt, rather than admiration or dread, supplied him with the colouring. It will be seen, from the ingenuity with which he has managed his arguments, that Don Luis de Onis was a wily politician, a master of the diplomatic art; and however illusive some of his reasoning may appear, there

are strong grounds to believe, that the Spanish Cortes were influenced by it to consent to the ratification of his treaty, and that his main object was thus accomplished.

After this translation had been announced as in the Press, but before I had advanced many pages in the work, one of those publick gazettes which, in the language of the author, "inundate the country," was put into my hands, in which the editor, to my amazement, and, I may add, *amusement*, expressed strong fears that the translation would be *mutilated* or *garbled*. Without knowing who was the translator, or what motives he could have for want of fidelity to his author, the editor fired a random shot, in hopes it might strike some member of the government. He had either seen the original, or he had heard particular parts of it read, in which Don Onis had been so severe upon *certain great men*, that pains had been taken to *suppress* the circulation of the few copies that had found their way into the country; but the editor was quite sure, he remembered enough of the book to detect any *imposition*, which the translator might attempt to practise upon the publick, with a view to screen the *said great men* from exposure!

Now as I would not have it suspected, even by a solitary individual, either that our government can have any thing to fear from the fullest exposure of their conduct and motives, or that I would descend to be instrumental in shielding them from censure, if they deserved it, I think it proper here to assure the reader, that I have not only given a faithful exhibition of the author's sentiments, but that I have translated every line of the Memoir, *so literally*, as often to sacrifice elegance and idiomatick propriety, rather than risk by paraphrase to

change the meaning of a passage. Hurried as I was, I found it impossible to refrain from making an occasional note, to correct some of the Don's misrepresentations: if my leisure had corresponded with my inclination, these notes would have been more copious and full, particularly on the subject of his unjust abuse of the Judges and Juries of Baltimore; but I console myself with the knowledge, that Baltimore will not want for competent defenders, among the readers of Don Luis de Onis's Memoir.

The *Appendix* to the original, consists of the Preliminary and Secret Treaty between the French Republick, and his Catholick Majesty, concluded on the 1st October, 1800—the Convention of 1802, between his Catholick Majesty and the United States—the treaty of Washington, 22d February, 1819, and three Memoirs under the signature of *Verus*. The Author's correspondence with the American government, intended to form a part of the Appendix, was announced as in the press at Madrid, when this volume was published.

It has been thought unnecessary to give with this translation, any but the first of these documents, which has not before been published in this country: all the rest have been already before the American publick.

Washington, 18th July, 1821.

PREFACE.

THE happy era of our political restoration having at length arrived, when the monarch feels it his duty to unite with his people in promoting the well-being and prosperity of the state, I have believed, that the treaty, concluded on the 22d February of the last year, between his majesty and the United States of America, but not yet ratified in consequence of the occurrence of some subsequent difficulties, could not but interest, in the most lively manner, the Nation, and the worthy deputies whom they have elected to represent them. But as, in order to form a correct and impartial judgment of this treaty, which I now publish, it is necessary to possess a previous knowledge of the incidents which gave occasion to the negotiations, I have presented them with all the perspicuity of which their nature is susceptible; I have then entered into an examination of the situation of Spain, at the period when the Central Junta confided to me, in the name of the king, the important charge of minister plenipotentiary near the United States, and of the state of that country at my departure from it. And for the better illustration of the subject, I have moreover inserted in an Appendix, the preliminary and secret treaty of the 1st October, 1800, between the French Republic and his Catholic Majesty, the king of Spain, in relation to the aggrandizement of his royal highness, the Infant Duke of Parma in Italy, and the recession of Louisiana: the convention agreed upon in 1802, between his Catholic Majesty and the United States, upon the indemnification for losses, damages, and injuries sustained during the last war, in consequence of excesses committed by the individuals of both nations, in violation of the law of nations and the existing treaty: the treaty above mentioned, concluded on the 22d February, 1819;

and the three memoirs, which I published in the United States, under the signature of *Verus*, marked with the Nos. I, II, and III, to refute the opinions of that government upon the points in question, and to oppose its attacks against our rights and possessions; and lastly, the correspondence which I held with that government, during these negotiations.

The sketch which I have given of the population, laws, industry, commerce, sea and land forces, and political system of the United States, while it may serve to explain the conduct of the representatives of the nation near the government of that Republic, should impressions, unfavorable to their reputation, have at any time existed, will, in some measure, contribute to the information of the public.

The Cortes have it in their power to carry their scrutiny further, by an examination of the secret instructions to be found in the Office of the Secretary of State, which I am not at liberty to publish, and, after seeing them, to decide, whether the negotiations have been constantly in accordance with the instructions given by the government, or whether advantage has been taken, as occasions arose, to extend them to subjects which, not having been foreseen by the government, had not entered into their consideration.

If this exposition shall be found to communicate all the light which a subject of so much importance demands, the decision of the Nation and the King cannot but be attended with the happiest consequences; and with the proud feeling of having, in part, contributed to produce a result so desirable, I shall regard the increase of our national prosperity and glory, as my sweetest and most flattering reward.

MEMOIR, &c.

Having been appointed, towards the end of June, 1809, by the Supreme Central Junta, which at that time governed the monarchy in the name of his majesty, Envoy extraordinary and minister Plenipotentiary to the United States of America, I embarked on board the Cornelia, of the royal fleet, and arrived at the port of New York, on the 4th October, of the same year, after a most unpleasant passage of forty four days. The situation of the peninsula at that period is but too well known. The whole nation had been roused to enthusiasm against the French armies, and against the cruel and ignominious yoke, which the frenzied Napoleon had attempted to impose upon them; and although oppressed and surrounded on all sides by an immense multitude of enemies' troops, she appeared boldly and firmly resolved to pursue the struggle to death or victory. All Europe saw with amazement her enterprize and her efforts; but all, with the exception of England, either groaned under the arrogant despotism of Napoleon, or were subject to his overruling influence. The United

States of America, without the necessity of engaging in the vicissitudes and affairs of Europe, and separated from it by an immense ocean, had it in their power to pursue a course of conduct, by which their real interests might be made to conform to the principles of justice, humanity and honour. This consideration, and the desire of securing peace and a good understanding between these States and Spain, and of settling, in good faith and sincerity, all the points in dispute between the two governments, upon the subject of limits, and claims for damages and injuries already recognized, governed the Central Junta as to the object of my mission; which likewise embraced all that might be necessary to maintain and preserve the Spanish possessions in the New World united to the mother country, and to watch over the adventurers and incendiaries who might attempt to pass from the United States with a view to excite commotions in them.

Anxious to employ all my zeal and all my labours in the discharge of so important an embassy, I repaired immediately to the City of Washington, and solicited an audience, that I might present my credentials to the President of the Republic. Mr. Madison, at that time, held this dignity; and Robert Smith, to whom afterwards succeeded James Monroe, was Secretary of State. It was promptly announced to me, that the American government, although it applauded the efforts of the Spaniards

in their glorious struggle, and desired to maintain with them a good understanding and perfect harmony, could not receive or recognize any minister from the provisional governments of Spain, because the crown was in dispute, and the nation divided into two adverse parties; and that until the termination of that struggle, the United States would remain neutral, or as simple spectators, without taking any part in favour of one or the other. The Cabinet of Washington continued steadfast in the plan which it had prescribed to itself, and would neither agree to recognize me, nor enter into any official communication with me, *until the prospect which had flattered its hopes was completely dissipated*, by the dethronement and ruin of Napoleon, and the restoration of Ferdinand VII to the throne of his august predecessors; so that the diplomatic relations between the United States and Spain were interrupted, from the commencement of our glorious revolution to the end of December 1815; at which time, after having surmounted some trifling obstacles still thrown in the way, on the part of the American government, I was received and recognized by it, in virtue of new credentials, signed by his majesty. During the interval, I had been constantly occupied in watching over the interests of the monarchy in this portion of America, in discharging all the duties with which I had been entrusted by the government, in aiding our colonies

as far as my situation rendered it possible, and in setting forth to the *Anglo-American* government every occurrence that violated the peace subsisting between the two nations. Upon the first movements of the revolution in Spain, the ambition of the Anglo-American people was excited, and in the enthusiasm of their presumptuous pride, and their gigantic projects, they believed that the time had arrived, when a considerable portion of Spanish America was about to fall into their power, and the rest, after being emancipated, to submit to their influence. Their spies, emissaries and agents, penetrated immediately into Mexico, Venezuela, and the kingdom of Santa Fé, and successively wherever circumstances favoured their entrance. They ceased not every where to inflame the minds of the people against the Spanish government, and to promote the revolution, by exaggerating the account of the evils which they suffered under the dominion of Spain, and the happiness they might acquire, if they would profit by the easy opportunity which the destinies offered them, of obtaining their emancipation, liberty and political independence. Increased associations of adventurers were immediately formed at various points of the Anglo-American territory, to assist the malcontents of Spanish America; and from the moment that Napoleon despaired of being able to corrupt and gain it, for himself or his brother Joseph, and lent his ostentatious

power towards its emancipation, the French emissaries and adventurers conspired with the Anglo-Americans for the subversion of these rich and beautiful provinces. Those who were proscribed and banished from the society of other European nations, vagabonds without the means of subsistence, or who were stimulated by the hope of amassing large fortunes in the rebellious provinces of our America, hastened to reinforce the auxiliary bodies that were organized in the United States, to cooperate with the rebels. Associations for this enterprize, were formed in various cities of the Union; incendiary proclamations were published in the gazettes; and the people were exhorted by vehement speeches, and flattering and seductive pictures, to take a part in these armaments and expeditions. Louisiana, wrested from Spain by Napoleon, in 1800, and sold by him to the United States in 1802, facilitated the entrance of these adventurers into the provinces of Mexico, and our little navy left the seas free to them, and a defenceless coast on which they might land. They proved both the one and the other at various times, and the government of the United States seemed secretly to applaud their enterprizes; it received their envoys and agents; encouraged them with flattering promises and hopes; and by means of its emissaries, treated with the chiefs and commanders of the revolted provinces. The minister and the agents

of Napoleon in the United States, equally received with demonstrations of favour and of joy, the envoys of these chiefs, and all who had undertaken to support their cause. By good fortune the expeditions against Mexico were attended with no favorable issue; for nature has opposed the obstacles of a rough coast and unpeopled deserts, to the incursions of adventurers. The list of all the conspirators which I sent to the Archbishop, the Viceroy, before the revolution burst forth, and my seasonable advices to the governors of the internal provinces, checked the evil, and contributed to dissipate it, before any fearful consequences could be produced. I transmitted similar intelligence to other portions of our America, when expeditions were in preparation, or when bands of adventurers or emissaries were getting ready in the United States to go and join the rebels in the dominions of the King, or to foment among them the direful spirit of revolution; and I have often enjoyed the pleasure of learning, that my intelligence had arrived in time, and had opportunely frustrated their designs.

There are two periods, then, embraced in the time of my mission; the one during which I resided in that country without being recognized as the minister of the King, and the other from the time of my being received in that character until my departure for Spain.

During the first period, which lasted about six years, although I received the most polite and respectful attentions, as well from the authorities of the Republic as from all its citizens, still I was exposed to vexations from the populace, and to angry resentments from the insurgent agents, who abounded in the country. As the privileges allowed by the laws of nations to all diplomatists, were not extended to me, all I could do, was to utter complaints and remonstrances, as a private agent, to the government of the United States, against the infractions of the existing treaties, and other excesses, by which peace and the public faith were broken in the territory of the Union, and hostilities committed against Spain; while she had never ceased, even in the midst of her struggle against the invading armies of the tyrant of Europe, to maintain the most perfect harmony with the United States, and to give them signal proofs of her sincere and generous friendship. That my memorials might reach the Secretary of State, I availed myself, sometimes, of the Attorney General, and at other times, of the Spanish Consul resident near the federal city; and although he received them at all times with marks of politeness and civility, and in the name of the President renewed to me (but always verbally) assurances of the good wishes and affectionate sympathy of his government for Spain, yet all amounted to no more than idle compliments,

since he avoided the subject upon which I treated, and neglected to answer me in writing.

The American government, however it professed good faith in its conduct towards Spain during this period of time, changed its tone when it caused the district of *Baton rouge*, in West Florida, to be occupied in 1810, and the district of *Mobile* in 1812. The President declared in a proclamation, "that as all these territories belonged to the United States as an integral part of Louisiana, he considered it expedient to occupy them, as both justice and policy demanded it, but that they should be held by him, as they had been by Spain, subject to amicable negotiation."

To these publick acts of aggression and violence were afterwards added General Jackson's march through West Florida, with the troops under his command, and his entrance into Pensacola, to drive from that place the few English who had landed there; and the march of another body of American troops into East Florida, to assist a party of revolters who, from the United States themselves, were endeavouring to excite disorder in that province. I protested in the name of the king, against all and each of these excesses; but the cabinet of Washington refused to reply to me, and inflexibly adhered to their system of policy.

During the second period of my embassy, which falls in with the epoch of general peace in

Europe, and which takes its date from the end of December, 1815, I renewed, officially, all the complaints, remonstrances, and protests, which I had addressed to the American government, in the course of the first period, and presented many others, for the first time, upon subjects of a similar nature. Piracy against Spanish commerce, began from that moment to assume the most decided character in the United States; and an organized system of pillage and robbery was practised, with an effrontery which has no example in history. This system soon became general, as a branch of speculation, in the principal ports of the Union, and the American merchants devoted themselves to it with the most eager zeal, while the government and judicial tribunals showed themselves insensible, or indifferent, as well to the complaints of individuals, as to those presented by myself or the consuls; and Spanish property, brought in in the captured vessels themselves, or in others under the American flag, ceased not to enter the country, and to swell the mass of publick wealth. The interest of the government conspired with that of the people, to tolerate and protect this lucrative piracy; hence it is, that it has been constantly pursued, even to the present moment, and that even in the most atrocious and legally established cases, in which, to the plunder of Spanish cargoes, and of the clothes and property of the crews and passengers, was sometimes added the assassina-

tion of innocent victims, at other times the infliction of the most cruel torments, the monsters who committed these crimes have escaped with impunity, and have triumphantly paraded through the ports and cities of the United States.

From the first official representations which I made to the American government upon these excesses, and the protection which the cruizers and vessels of our revolted colonists enjoyed in every port of the Union, it was answered "that the authorities and tribunals of the country watched over the observance of the laws, and that the President had adopted an impartial system of neutrality, with regard to the conflict between Spain and America; that the officers of the customs had orders to admit every species of vessel, without regard to the character or circumstances of her flag, provided the established duties were paid, and the peace and good order of the country not disturbed; and that in cases of trespass or violation of the law, recourse should be had to the magistrates and tribunals of justice, and not to the Executive." The result of the suits brought by the Spanish consuls before the American judges and tribunals, was, in general, a confirmation of the robbery, and the triumphant impunity of its authors.

When I appealed to the government for the exercise of its authority, and the observance of the constitutional laws of the United States, against the

enlistment of adventurers in the territory of the Union, and against their equipment and military march from the very bosom of the States, for the purpose of invading Spanish America, I was answered in these, or similar terms: "That the governors of every state, watched over the observance of the law; that there had not been sufficient proof in the cases about which I complained; and that the constitution of the country allowed a free entrance into it, to every individual of the human race, without exception, provided they did not belong to a nation or power at war with the United States." I gave an account of all this to his majesty, by transmitting to him copies of my notes to the American government, and of the answers which I received from it. In my correspondence, which should be in the Office of the Secretary of State, all these cases will be found circumstantially explained and demonstrated. In that, also, may be seen my remonstrances and protests against the occupancy of Amelia Island, and the invasion of East Florida, and against the capture of the fortresses of St. Mark's, the Barrancas, and Pensacola, by the American troops—outrages which, it will scarcely be believed by posterity, were committed during a time of peace, and at the very moment when negotiations were pending for an amicable adjustment of all the differences between the two nations. The steadiness with which the American government has

endeavoured to make it appear an act of justice to assail these provinces and fortresses, and to take possession of them by main force, representing at the same time, the conduct of the general who committed these outrages as legal, will scarcely find a parallel in history.

I should here speak of every thing that relates to the negotiation with the government of the United States, for the amicable arrangement and accommodation of the differences between them and Spain, did it not form a part of my correspondence with the Department of State, which will be found in the sequel of this Memoir, together with the papers which I published in the years 1810, 12, and 17, under the signature of *Verus*, for the purpose of enlightening public opinion, and restraining, as far as possible, the views of that cabinet. I refer the reader, therefore, to these documents, and to the brief exposition which I shall give, when I come to speak of the policy of the United States; and shall now pass on, to give some idea of the country and government of that Republic.

It is well known, that the territory of the United States of America already occupied an extent of 1300 English or American miles from East to West, and 1000 from the Lakes of Canada to the confines of the Floridas and Louisiana, before the acquisition of the latter province; and that by this was added to it an almost equal extent of beauti-

fully diversified and fertile lands: so that the territory of these states may now be estimated at about two millions of square miles, and according to the computation of Captain Hutchins, at twelve hundred millions of acres, including water, which forms a considerable portion of the surface, in consequence of the multitude of rivers, lakes and bays which the country contains. It will be seen by this computation, that the actual extent of the Anglo-American territory, is more than seven times greater than that of France before the revolution, and of the whole peninsula of Spain and Portugal. "The Americans, says Volney, delight in drawing comparisons of this kind; and the vanity inspired by their flattering dreams of future grandeur, induces them to measure the importance of foreign nations by this prodigious scale." When Volney thus wrote, the Americans had not yet acquired Louisiana, nor had their view been expanded over the brilliant prospect which was afterwards opened to their presumptuous and mad ambition. The Americans, at present, think themselves superiour to all the nations of Europe; and believe that their dominion is destined to extend, now, to the isthmus of Panama, and hereafter, over all the regions of the New World. Their government entertains the same ideas, and in the whole course of its policy, calculates upon the illusion of these flattering expectations. But what is the physical and moral

strength of the United States? An immense country, and scarcely inhabited on the coasts of the Atlantic, in the vicinity of large rivers and bays, at some points extending to great distances in the interior; a country uncultivated, with the forests yet unfelled in more than two thirds of its best lands; a country in general *unsusceptible of any great progress in agriculture by reason of the bad quality of its soil*, and its extreme and variable temperature in all situations.....such is the territory occupied by the United States.*

Judging by the calculation of Hutchins, which is doubtless exaggerated, and made to please the palates of a vain people, of the twelve hundred millions of acres which the country contained before the acquisition of Louisiana, fifty one millions are under water, and only five hundred and twenty millions are susceptible of cultivation; and by the approximate calculation of Blodget

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*The reader will have frequent occasion to remark, in the course of this Memoir, that *Don Luis* never suffers the favourable impressions, which his observations on the country, whenever he confines himself to historical truth, are calculated to produce on the minds of foreigners, to have a very *lasting* influence. He is always careful to efface them, by a subsequent picture of evils, sufficiently terrible to check the spirit of European emigration. This will explain the anomaly of "*beautifully diversified and fertile lands*," being unsusceptible of improvements in agriculture, on account of *badness of soil*. T.

made in 1811 there were at that time but 40,950,000 in a state of cultivation.

The greatest advantage which nature has bestowed upon the country is the abundance of its waters, which not only lend facilities to agriculture, but also to internal and external commerce, to manufactories and ship building. But, nevertheless, the want of canals, and of roads through the interior, prevents the use of this natural advantage from being extended, except upon a very reduced scale between the different states of the Union.

Louisiana which, as I have said, doubled the extent of the Anglo-American territory, and which contains an immense variety of beautiful grounds susceptible of every species of cultivation, has only begun to be attended to within a few years, and may be regarded as yet in its infancy. I shall say more of it hereafter.

The population of the United States, according to the census of 1810, amounted in that year to 7,230,514 souls, of which must be reckoned about two millions of negroes and mulattoes, and of these, about 1,600,000 slaves.* At present the

* We know not from what *data* the author made these calculations, which are in several particulars erroneous. The total population of the United States and their territories in 1810, amounted to 7,239,903; or a greater number, by 9,389 souls, than *Don Luis* makes it. Of these 1,191,364 were slaves—408,636 *less*, than the amount stated by the author. *Vid.* Niles's Register, Vol. 1, p. 236. T.

whole population may be estimated at eight or nine millions, though various American writers, always careful to magnify and exaggerate things, make it amount to nine or ten millions. Congress, at their last session, ordered another census to be taken, in all the states, districts, and territories of the Union, from the result of which a more certain calculation may be formed, if proper allowance be made for that exaggeration, which is produced, not only by the interest which the federal government feels in making a display of the rapid progress of the population of the whole country, but by the pride and rivalry of each state, territory and district, by which they are induced to magnify the number of their inhabitants, for the sake of procuring to themselves greater importance.

The States of Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia, are the most considerable in the Union, and the most populous, with the exception of Connecticut, which without doubt has more population than all, although its territory is of small extent.* In the two Carolinas, the popula-

* It is difficult to conceive how the author could have fallen into this strange mistake, with regard to the population of Connecticut. By the Census of 1810, which is the latest that Mr. de Onis could have seen when his work was written, Massachusetts (then including Maine) had a population of 700,745——New York 959,049——Pennsylvania 810,091—Virginia 974,622—and Connecticut only 261,942. T.

tion increases very little, and one third of it, as well as in Virginia and Maryland, is composed of negroes and mulattoes, nearly all slaves. The whites appear rather to diminish than to increase in these states;* which must be attributed to their use of strong drinks, and to a life of voluptuous excesses. Despising matrimony, they commonly unite themselves with the negresses and mulattresses. They are but little inclined to labour, presumptuous, vindictive, and cruel to their slaves. The inhabitants of the States of the North are more laborious, and less corrupt. Those of Delaware, Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee and Georgia, are poor; and, with the exception of Delaware, they all resemble the savages, or aboriginal Indians, very much, in their customs and mode of living. They are much addicted to the chace, and make their excursions like the Indians, generally on horseback, and with a musket. Of late years they have been constantly emigrating, principally to the territories of Louisiana, and others usurped from Spain in the Floridas, provinces of Tehas,

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* The *white* population of the States of North and South Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland amounted in 1800, to 1,274,891, and in 1810, to 1,381,257; making an *increase* in the ten years of 106,366, which, when it is considered that these states are indebted but little to emigration for their population, will sufficiently establish the *reverse* of *Don Luis's* proposition. T.

and New Mexico, as well as to those which, under various pretexts, the government has successively seized upon from the Indians.

In the first, they have already erected three States. Louisiana, Mississippi, and Illinois, besides the territories of Orleans, Missouri, and part of Alabama, which it is contemplated also to form into a State.

In the second, the State of Indiana has been established, and the territories of Michigan and the North West have been organized, to say nothing of the usurpations, which have been made in both, to enlarge the limits of the United States. It is well known, that the Federal Constitution admits no state into the Union as sovereign and independent, unless it has at least 60,000 inhabitants. Until the population reaches this number, the country which it occupies, cannot enter into the Union, but exists as a territory of it, governed by the President. From what has been said, it might be thought, that the population in the countries acquired from the ultramarine possessions of Spain, or usurped from her, was necessarily very considerable, since three States and several territories have already been formed; but I have guarded against this erroneous calculation, by pointing out the facility and the interest in exaggerating the population, and supposing it greater than it really is. This is practised with still greater artifice and collusion in the territories, which

aspire to become States, and ask to be admitted into the Union. According to the census of 1810, the population, in all the districts of which I have spoken, amounted to 109,000 souls, almost the whole of which was composed of negro and mulatto slaves.* Even supposing this computation to be faithful and correct, still it does not make the complement required to form two states; and it is notorious, that the population in these immense countries has increased little or nothing since the period mentioned, with the exception of that of Illinois, which has made some progress by virtue of the benignity of the climate, and the great advantages of a free traffick with the Indians, and a clandestine one with the neighboring provinces of New Spain. Cultivation has scarecely yet begun to be encouraged at some few points of this vast region; but as both the government and individuals extend their ambitious views, even with enthusiasm, to the fertile and charming countries of New Mexico, Tehas, and other provinces in the interior of Mexico, it is probable, that the population will daily increase in the Illinois, and other districts bordering on the Spa-

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* The sources from which the author draws his calculations, have here led him into another errour: the population of these countries, according to the Census of 1810, amounted to 174,555, of which only 55,164 were slaves. Mississippi in 1816, some time before it was erected into a State, possessed a population of 74,746, of which 44,781 were *whites*. T.

nish provinces, and that it will progressively extend along the latter. This increase, however, will be of no great consideration for a long time, whether because these countries are at an immense distance from the cities and open ports of the United States, or because cultivation is not the passion of the Anglo-Americans, or that adventurers who emigrate thither, have not sufficient funds to devote to great agricultural undertakings. If the present population of the United States continues to increase, as it has done for the last twenty years, it will not be extraordinary if it should cover the most important part of these countries, and even extend itself much further, in the course of this century. In 1790, it amounted only to 3,884,000 souls, and in 1810, it exceeded 7,000,000. The Americans transported with pride and vanity, calculate the future increase of their population by this flattering rate; and Mellish, who has lately given a map of the United States according to memorandums furnished him by the government, makes this calculation with great gravity, and prognosticates that the population will amoant in 1820 to 10,098,172 souls: in 1830 to 13 millions: in 1840 to 18: in 1850 to 25: in 1860 to 34: in 1870 to 47: in 1880 to 64: in 1890 to 88: in 1900 to 120: in 1910 to 164: and in 1918 to 211 millions. If this prophecy should be fulfilled, there can be no doubt, there will be in the United States, at the end of the present century, a sufficient population, not only to occupy the

vast countries of which I have spoken, but to spread itself over all the regions of the New World. But the prophecy is as ridiculous, as the hypothesis upon which it is founded is extravagant. If the causes, which have produced the great increase of population and wealth in the United States, were ordinary and permanent, the calculation would not be too exaggerated, and the prophecy might be admitted. But who does not know, that the United States owe the increase of their population and wealth, of which they boast so much, to the revolution of France, and the extraordinary events which it produced? They acquired from these causes all the French population of the island of St. Domingo, and a great part of the inhabitants and colonists of the other French islands; and a constant emigration has flowed in from France, Switzerland, Italy, the Low Countries, Holland, Germany, and Ireland, up to the end of the last year. During the long period of war in Europe, the American was the only free and neutral flag in every sea. The Americans then enjoyed a long and advantageous period, not only for supplying the European and Spanish American markets with the productions of their own soil at high prices, but for carrying the produce and merchandize of all other nations, from the markets and ports of one to those of the others. The insurrection in Spanish America, opened a field equally flattering to their avarice and ambition; they fomented the disorder

in these provinces, that they might enrich themselves with their commerce, and perhaps with their spoils; and lastly, they have had recourse to an unheard of system of piracy against the vessels and property of the Spanish and Portuguese nations, the depredations upon which have already, as is notorious, brought into the United States many millions of dollars.

I have thus briefly, but truly, explained the causes of the rapid and astonishing increase of the population, and of the publick and individual wealth, of these States. But these causes have disappeared; and on the one hand, the extreme and devouring luxury which prevails in all classes of the Anglo-American people, on the other hand, the blindness with which they prosecute mercantile speculations and rash enterprises, have within a few years destroyed large fortunes, and considerably reduced the mass of publick wealth. Population, which in general increases only in proportion with it, may be regarded from the present moment as stationary, or at most, but equal in its future progress to that of other nations, in which it is not opposed or paralized by capital vices in the political and economical systems, or by extraordinary and calamitous events. It is true, that in the state of Illinois, in the territory of Misuri or Mispsouri, and others adjoining, there is as I have said a great stimulus to population: but as it increases at those points only at the

expense of the other states and territories of the Union, the general product will be always the same. Besides this there is no probability that it can be much increased in countries so vast and remote, still uncultivated and in forests, and communication with which is so painful and difficult. The emigration of the people of the East to these new countries is composed of miserable creatures, or of adventurers seduced by idle expectations. The moment these people discover the insuperable or even arduous difficulties, with which they have to contend, to break up the fields, and form such agricultural establishments as may correspond with their wishes, or their calculations, they begin to hesitate, abandon one place to seek another, and without permanently fixing in any, they become itinerants, cultivating here and there a small spot of ground; and a traffick with the Indians, and at some points, with the bordering Spanish provinces, forms the principal object of their speculations.

The Americans, however, boast very much of the rapid progress of population in the countries of which I have spoken; and the territory of Missouri is already anxious to be erected into a State. But that territory comprehends an extent from North to South, of about 1380 miles, and from East to West of about 1680; for among other boundaries, the internal provinces of Mexico, and the Pacific Ocean, the Mexican gulf, and an ideal line to

the North, are also so regarded. It is evident, the United States are not capable of peopling this immense country; nor is it probable, that it yet contains the number of inhabitants required by the Federal Constitution before it can be erected into a State. But there is no doubt, it will soon be admitted as such into the Union, and that the Americans will make the greatest possible efforts to people it at the points of most importance, in as much as it embraces in its wide extent the greater part of the territories in dispute between the government of the United States and Spain, which the former is desirous to become master of at every risk, not only to open a communication by land with the Pacific Ocean, but to hem in the Spanish provinces, which, from the fertility of their soil and the precious mines with which it is believed they abound, excite still more their ambition and avarice. It is for this reason, that the American government talks of establishing a chain of fortified posts all along this vast country.

I cannot conclude my observations upon the country and population of the United States, without saying something of the Indians, or aboriginals, still remaining in them. A considerable number of the Iroquois are yet to be met with in the State of New York, and in the eastern part of Long Island; but they are all miserable wretches, in nothing resembling their ancestors, whose character is said to

have been so bold, warlike and ferocious. In the States of Tenessee and Mississippi, the nation or tribe of Cherokees exist; in Georgia, the Creeks; in Mississippi, the Chickasaws and Choctaws; in the State of Indiana and territory of Michigan, a few savage hordes of the nation or tribe of Chippeway are to be found; and others occupy various points to the North East of the Illinois and East of Lake Michigan. They are all wretched, and gradually becoming extinct. Their whole number will amount at most to 50 or 60,000. Those who live within the Spanish dominions, contiguous to the United States, comprise various tribes, some of them sufficiently numerous; but they are gradually diminishing and abandoning the country to the Americans.

Although the federal government boasts of the tenderness and philanthropy with which it treats them, it cannot but be observed, that whatever may be its disposition to cherish sentiments so becoming the present age, and all free countries like that of America, the fact is, that the Indians are daily despoiled of their lands by purchases, for the most part fraudulent, or by treaties but little equitable, as well as by force of arms. It frequently happens, that the settlers, established on the frontier or near the lands of the Indians, make incursions into them, and rob them of their cattle, and of every thing upon which they can lay their hands. They

complain to the governors and authorities of their respective State or Territory, and in many cases to the federal government; but justice is not always done to them, nor any satisfaction given. A series of these outrages at length wearies their patience; and when they find a fit opportunity, they take vengeance into their own hands, attack those who enter their grounds to lay them waste, or drive off their cattle, and either murder them, or sometimes pursue them beyond the frontier, committing reprisals upon the American possessions, with the ferocity belonging to their nature. When either of these events happens, the cry of alarm and indignation resounds through the whole United States, and the government sends an army to chastise the Indians.

Such is the motive or apparent cause of the deadly and exterminating wars, which have been hitherto waged against these unhappy beings. The government always entrusts the conduct of them to impetuous generals, who suffering themselves to be carried away by a passion for war, even to the overwhelming in ruin these almost defenceless and wretched aboriginals, pursue them with fire and sword, burn their miserable cabins, and put to destruction all who are not so fortunate as to escape to distant forests or inaccessible mountains.

At the end of the campaign, a treaty is entered into with the unfortunate victims, who have sur-

vived the extermination of their tribe; and in this, the greater and better part of their lands is adjudged to the United States, who are thus successively getting rid of these neighbours, and possessing themselves of the countries which they occupy. The two campaigns of General Jackson against the Indians of the Floridas, present some examples of what I have stated, particularly the last, which, perhaps, if we examine its circumstances, exceeded all the rest in horrours, the remembrance of which will last for ever.*

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* The *horrours* to which the author here alludes, are, we presume, the military execution of the instigators of these Indian wars—Arbuthnot, Ambrister, and the *prophet*, Francis—and the taking possession of Pensacola. Sufficient evidences that the Indians had been excited to the savage hostilities which brought upon them the chastisement of General Jackson, by Arbuthnot and Ambrister, and other agents of the British government, were found at every step which our army took. And the fact, that the prophet Francis had been *commissioned* as a Brigadier General in the British service, has never been disputed. These Indians were under the jurisdiction of Spain; and, even had not the Spanish authorities at St. Marks supplied them with arms, ammunition, provision and clothing, as upon their own acknowledgment they did, still the influence which they permitted the English to exercise, within their territories, and the protection which they afforded to the Indian Chiefs, in violation of an existing treaty, will justify General Jackson, in the eyes of every discerning and impartial politician, in the course which he pursued. T.

Hence it comes, that the American name is abhorred among the Indians who border upon the United States; and that any nation will find them always ready to make war upon these people, whom they look upon as the most perfidious upon earth, and as having systematically conspired to exterminate or destroy them. Among the European nations of which they possess a knowledge, they prefer the Spanish and the French; and notwithstanding they have ceased to receive the usual presents and necessary protection from the Spanish government of late years, they still preserve great respect and affection for the Spaniards. Those who live within the Territory of the Floridas manifest also great esteem and regard for the English.

Agriculture, Manufactories, and Industry of the United States.

The Americans have but little notion of Agriculture, and display neither care nor discernment in their attention to it. In the States of the North, they copy the English in the division of their grounds into fields, and in the common order and method of their labours. And although they do this from the mere force of habit, and without profiting by the advancement of reason and experience, yet they have greatly the advantage over the farmers

of the other States. Their lands are divided into lots, or granges, of small extent, proportioned to the work of each labourer. In the States of the South, the lots, or *plantations* as they are there called, are too extensive; the farmer scarcely cultivates any part of the ground which he owns, and does not make from his plantation the half of what it ought to produce. He pursues a similar method to that of the Spanish, English and French planters in their respective colonies of this hemisphere; and as the produce which they cultivate is precious, they prefer their peculiar mode to that of the States of the North, which they consider as more expensive and laborious; and what they lose in the quantity of their produce, is made up in its value. They are contented therefore with this produce; and given up to dissipation and voluptuousness, they trust the labour to their slaves. In the Eastern, or middle States, the method of cultivation is not better than in those of the South; and in general the practice of agriculture is very imperfect.

It is remarkable too, that notwithstanding the country is so abundantly supplied with water, no advantage is taken of it for irrigation: there are neither canals nor dykes to make the rivers useful, and even in their vicinities, the fields are parched and the crops lost during the excessive heats, unless a seasonable rain comes to remedy the evil. To this capital defect may be added another equal-

ly great: the American farmer scarcely knows any thing of the utility of manure; he makes but little use of it, and is ignorant how to vary it, or accommodate it to the quality and circumstances of the ground. Hence it is, in part, that he prefers the clearing up of new lands, to the amelioration of those which, because they are not manured, he regards as worn out or sterile. Thus he is continually changing his abode, and abandoning one piece of land, for another which appears to be better, without employing on any, with perseverance, those means and labours, which its quality demands, that it may answer his expectations.

The principal productions of the territory of the United States, are wheat, corn, rye, barley, maize, oats, rice and potatoes. It produces also some hemp, flax, cotton, indigo, sugar cane and tobacco, as well as a variety of plants and forest and garden fruits. But these productions differ according to climate and quality of soil: some are peculiar to one State, and some to another. It may be said, that the principal production in the Northern States is Indian corn: in those of the South, cotton and rice; and in the middle States wheat and tobacco. The cotton which is raised near the sea coast is of the best quality, and much esteemed in the markets of England. The tobacco is very inferior to that of our Americas; and can only stand in competition with that of the island of St. Domingo.

Louisiana, and the greater part of the territories, of which the United States have possessed themselves, are susceptible of every species of culture, and adapted to the production not only of all the crops which are raised in the richest lands of the Union, but of many of those of Europe also, and almost all those of our Americas. The French, driven from St. Domingo when the negroes became independent in that part of the island which France possessed, and expelled afterwards from the island of Cuba, sought refuge in the United States; and it is from them, the Anglo-Americans have learned the method of cultivating cotton, sugar, and other colonial produce. Since that time, various plantations have been made in Louisiana, and in some other of the places mentioned.

In consequence of the general peace in Europe, and the obstacles which it threw in the way of the mercantile speculations of these States, the cultivation of the establishments in Upper and Lower Louisiana, Mobile, Alabama, Tombigbee, and other places, has been considerably promoted; and the enterprises of labourers, speculators and adventurers continue in these places, which they prefer on account of the topographical situation of the country, the fineness of the climate, and the fertility of the land. Their progress, however, has not corresponded hitherto, with the flattering hopes which these people had conceived. The

ambition of individual adventurers conspires with that of the government, in the cultivation and population of these vast regions, and in the desire to approach more nearly by these means the more opulent and more desirable provinces of New Spain. But though the enterprise is seductive and flattering, it is certainly impracticable; for there is not sufficient population in the United States to realize it. And these establishments, too much scattered over these extensive regions, and separated from each other by immense distances, without a facility of communication, will always be insignificant or precarious, until the United States possess a superfluous population, which from their number, or the difficulty or scarcity of convenient subsistence on their native soil, shall separate and scatter themselves over the adjacent countries.

The pastures in almost all the States are abundant, and supply copious provision to a great number of cattle, sheep, horses, and swine. But these pastures are not very substantial; they spring up and grow generally in the most astonishing manner, without the help of art, but are inundated in the vallies and meadows by the rains of winter, and the melting of snow and ice, or the torrents from the mountains and hills. Hence, it results that the meats with which the publick are supplied, are of little substance, and *excessively watery*, and the same may be said of almost all the fruits of the

country. The method of making good artificial meadows is unknown; and the few that are to be seen, in the neighborhood of some of the cities, show by their bad arrangement and want of variety, that the Americans are yet ignorant of this important branch of agriculture.*

I cannot omit to say, that the horses of this country are of good stature, and of beautiful figure, but not strong, nor at all comparable to the Spanish horses in point of vigour and docility. They are of the English breed; and only in the States and Territories bordering upon Mexico and the Floridas, are they crossed with the horses of those countries, which come from the Spanish breed; but though on account of this mixture, they are stronger in those frontier States and Territories, they are very inferior to those of Andalusia.

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*It is probable, that the Chevalier de Onis never saw more of the United States than was presented to his view on the publick road from New York, or perhaps from Boston, to the City of Washington. The interiors of the States of Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania and Maryland, to say nothing of the others over which his road must have led him, present as great a variety of beautiful and abundant artificial meadows, as are to be found in the most highly cultivated parts of Europe. We have never before heard the complaint which the author makes against our *meats*, and are at a loss to conceive, where he could have found the *dropsical* animals of which he speaks. T.

To have a proper idea of the progress and present state of agriculture in the territory of this Republick, it is necessary to bear in mind, that the Americans have a passion for frequently abandoning one piece of land for another, and for always preferring new to old lands. Notwithstanding this, there were scarcely forty millions of acres under cultivation in the whole United States, in the year 1805; fifteen millions of these were in grain fields and gardens; ten millions in meadows and pastures; and the rest in fallow. Mr. Beaujour, five years afterwards, calculated them at fifty millions at most; and I do not believe that they exceed seventy at the present moment, for the calculation of Beaujour, as the Americans themselves acknowledge, was very much exaggerated.

The smallest product of an acre of ground (the *acre* contains about 7000 Spanish feet) in the United States, is valued at four dollars; but the *acre* is generally purchased at five or six dollars. Deducting from this product two thirds, for the expenses of cultivation and harvest, it follows that the nett produce is 166 1-2 or 233 cents per acre, which in our money is equal to 32 *reals vellon* and *maravedises*, or 45 rs. vn. & m. By this calculation, it appears that the land in the United States produces more than a fifth of its value; and this flattering illusion* it is, that has induced so many

* He *demonstrates* the result by his own calculation, and calls it *illusion!* T.

people to emigrate from Europe with the view of purchasing lands in the United States; but experience has convinced them of the deception; for besides the expenses of transportation, and the inconveniences always attendant upon new and remote establishments, the labour is immensely arduous, and wages very high. Instead of the large fortunes which they expected, and which at first were really made, the adventurers and settlers who have latterly gone from Europe to America, have generally found nothing but misery or death. When at the conclusion of the war in Europe, an enthusiasm for emigrating to America was excited, ships successively sailed for the United States, loaded with miserable wretches, principally from Switzerland, Holland, and Germany: these unhappy beings were obliged to sell or bind themselves for a certain number of years, to pay the cost of their transportation and maintenance; and finding purchasers with difficulty, they at last become discontented and groan with repentance, at having abandoned their own country.*

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* This is, indeed, enough to deter the most oppressed and wretched of the natives of Europe, from seeking an amelioration of their condition, in the New World! But, fortunately for those of every country who groan under the despotism of *legitimate* tyrants, Don Luis De Onis here speaks as a *diplomatist*, not as an *historian*. The fact is, that not three instances have occurred, for the last thirty

An *acre* of ground cultivated in the vicinity of large cities, produces annually from six to seven dollars, but in the interior of the country, it does not produce more than the half of that sum.* Calculating the mean value of its product, then, at the rate of four dollars, the 60 millions of acres in a state of cultivation ought to produce 240 millions of dollars; but I have already said, and it is well known, that of the lands which are considered as in a state of cultivation, there is a great deal turned out, that neither produces any thing, nor is ameliorated, either because the mania of seeking new lands and of preferring them to the old, prevails among the Americans, or because the pro-

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years, of an emigrant to this country having *repented*, at abandoning his native soil—more particularly among those from the three countries mentioned, who are, for the most part, mechanics or farmers, and who are certain of obtaining immediate employment, and of becoming in a short time independent and respectable. It frequently happens, indeed, that the dreams of lazy vagabonds, who come to this country with the expectation of being maintained in their idleness, and of enjoying the blessings of our free institutions without contributing to their support, are not verified; but the honest, industrious emigrant, who knows how to value the gifts of nature, and to discriminate between political systems, never fails to find all his hopes and wishes, as far as they depend upon human exertions, gratified. T.

* The annual product of ground in the vicinity of the large cities, averages at least four times the amount given by the author, by the acre. T.

prietors or tillers, from negligence or impossibility, cease to cultivate it. The revenue, or general product, of land in the United States, must be calculated, therefore, with a proportionate allowance for these facts. I do not include in this calculation the rent, or price of tenanted granges and farms, which will make about a third of the general product of land in these States: let us allow this, then, to cover the *deficit* which must necessarily result, in the sum total, from the causes which I have mentioned, and we shall find that the product of land in this country cannot amount to much more than 200 millions of dollars.* It is, however, the most important branch of national wealth. Three fourths of it is consumed in the country, and the balance exported.

The product of the woods, mines, and waters, of the United States, forms another branch of public wealth. The Americans obtain from their woods timber for ship building, and for other purposes, for which it is used in other countries; but the timber

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* To form a just calculation of the annual produce of agriculture in the United States, and of the quality of the land, it is necessary to keep in mind, that the *bushel* (an American measure very nearly corresponding to the *fanega* of Castille) of seed wheat commonly produces a harvest of 10 bushels, or fanegas—of rye and oats 12—of Indian corn, spelt and black wheat 15—of rice 18—of potatoes and turnips 24; and that each field produces, in common, but one crop in the year.

is, in general, neither durable nor strong, and hence the defect which is observed in their merchant ships.* There is, however, in the islands and inlets of the South, much excellent timber, particularly the oak, which is employed in the navy, and which is superiour to the greater part of the timber of Europe.

From the ashes of the trees, which are burned upon newly cleared lands, they prepare two kinds of Soda or Barilla, from the want of these plants, which do not grow in their territory. The one they call *pearl ashes,* and the other *pot ashes.* The first is used for dyes, and the second in the manufacture of soap, glass, and glazed earthen ware.†

They purchase hides and skins from the Indians, who live altogether by the chace, and this affords them considerable profit; but those who en-

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*No country in the world produces the best quality of ship timber, in greater quantities, than the United States; and the ships, and vessels of every description built here, command a higher price in the European markets, than those of any other country—which would hardly be the case if there were any *defect* in the timber. T.

†This branch of industry employs a great number of saw mills, and affords subsistence to many useful people, principally to a particular race of rough hardy men, who live in the woods, and form an intermediate class between the American farmer and the aboriginal Indian. They are exclusively employed in felling trees and cutting timber: they are robust, intrepid, and half savage.

gage in this traffick, are vagrants without a fixed abode.

The annual product of the three articles just spoken of, is calculated at fifteen millions of dollars; ten are consumed in the country, and five exported.

The fisheries in the rivers and sea, give a product of from seven to eight millions of dollars. Three millions are exported, and the rest is consumed in the country. It is said, that in this branch of industry, from sixty to eighty thousand tons of shipping are annually employed, and from eight to nine thousand fishermen; and that each one brings a revenue to the country of 900 dollars per annum. The fishermen, therefore, constitute the most productive class to the United States; for it is calculated that the others do not produce more than 450 dollars a head, that is to say, the people who follow the sea 700, artists and mechanics 500. free farmers 400, the farming slaves 200, and others employed in different occupations 300.

The raising of cattle gives a product of great consideration in these States, which may be calculated by their number, and the annual consumption and exportation of them. The number of horses in all the States, is estimated at one million and a half: the horned cattle at four millions, and the sheep at ten millions. The number of swine and fowls is very great. There are consumed in the United States 300 millions of pounds of butter, a million and a half of horned cattle, two millions of sheep, two millions

of hogs, and fifty millions of fowls. I shall speak of the exportation, when I come to treat of the commerce of the country.

This consumption of flesh, in a population of eight or nine millions of inhabitants, would appear disproportioned, did we not know that an American consumes much more than an European. In Europe, it is calculated that a pound of bread, and half a pound of meat or other food, will suffice an individual per diem. An American daily consumes little more than half a pound of bread, but at least a pound of meat, besides butter and potatoes, which make up at least one fourth of his food.

In some of the States there are various mines of iron, copper, and lead; and in others of coal: their annual product, however, is not calculated at more than two millions of dollars, nearly the whole of which is consumed in the country. This is a proof that these mines are naturally poor, or that they are badly worked.

Manufactures did not begin to be encouraged in the United States, until since the year 1805. Until that epoch, they had remained, as it were, stationary in the country, and the Americans depended upon foreign nations, principally upon England, for the different articles which they wanted. Attention to them was awakened, in a great measure, by the obstacles thrown in the way of neutral commerce and navigation, by the belligerent powers. Their annual product may now be calculated at 125

millions of dollars, or about 100 millions, after deducting the cost of the raw materials, which are, almost all, the produce of agricultue, and of the woods and mines of the country.

The principal branch of this species of industry in the United States, is ship building. The Americans may enter into competition on this point, with the most industrious nations of Europe: they build every sort of vessel with great facility and perfection, in a short time, and at much less expense than in Spain, although the price of labour is much higher there, than in the dearest country in Europe. The vessels built in Philadelphia, Baltimore, and New York, are of the best construction: but those constructed in the Southern States, or with timber from the South, are stronger and more durable. It may be calculated, that they do not construct less, one year with another, in the different ports of the States, than one hundred thousand tons annually.

Although their commerce has suffered much since the general peace in Europe, and the building of merchant vessels is consequently considerably diminished, yet the American merchants and speculators have not ceased to fill up the void by the construction of privateers and ships of war, which they have sold, and continue to sell, to the revolutionists of Spanish America. They have sold several also to his majesty's government in the island of Cuba; and it would be well to have more constructed, on account of the Spanish nation, in

the best ship yards of the United States, for the service of the national marine in that hemisphere, since it would save one half the expense it would cost to build them in Spain, or in our ultramarine provinces.*

Coaches, chaises, and other wheel carriages, are also manufactured in the principal cities. Carpentry is sufficiently advanced; and a number of coaches, and a considerable quantity of furniture for the use and decoration of the houses in Cuba and Porto Rico, and others in that part of America, are exported, with great profit.

There are, also, various manufactories for the distillation of liquors, for beer and cyder, and some for refining sugar, but these last are few and imperfect. In Boston, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, cotton is worked by steam machinery, by means of which it is cleaned, spun, and twisted, at the same time. Manufactories of this kind are also established in many other places, and the use of steam machinery is becoming general in the country, to their great advantage, since it economizes labour, diminishes expense, and produces the desired effect with facility and promptitude. But the cotton stuffs of this country, are, nevertheless, still of very infe-

* It is strange that the *Don* should recommend the construction of ships for his majesty's navy, in the United States, after stating that all the vessels of the United States are remarkable for the defect of their timber. T.

rior quality; they are coarse, and are but little consumed. The same may be said of the manufactures of wool, flax, and hemp: the Americans import from foreign countries what they require for clothing; the linens and cloths from their manufactories are very inferior and coarse, besides being but of trifling quantity. Among the causes which impede the progress and encouragement of their manufactories, may be reckoned the following: the excessive luxury of all clsses; the exorbitant price of labour; the copious introduction of goods from England, France and Germany; the exclusive passion for commerce, in all those who hold capital; and the want of means and faculty in the government to alter this combination of circumstances, and to redeem the country from their dependence upon foreign nations.

During the late war with Great Britain, an effort was made to promote the manufacture of fine cloths, and to provide for the deficiency of supply from that nation; and the result was, that some few yards of cloth were woven, as good as the best from English manufactories, but it was doubly expensive; the enterprise was abandoned, and the peace between the two nations dispelled even the idea of any similar attempt.

The manufactories of hats have been multiplied and brought to perfection in the principal cities. That of Danbury, in Connecticut, has great reputation; and in Boston, New York, Philadelphia

and Baltimore, Castor and Wool hats are made, equal to the best in Europe. There are but few Stocking looms; and the stockings that are woven in those of the different towns and cities, are very coarse: those of Germantown, near Philadelphia, are the best. There is not a single manufactory of silk stuffs in the whole United States; and with the exception of what comes from China, this costly branch of luxury is principally supplied to the Americans by the French.

Candles of tallow, a few of wax, and a great many of spermaceti, are manufactured in the country. Nantucket, a small town of Rhode Island, has the reputation of making the best spermaceti candles; they are in fact the whitest, but they are inferior to those made in the North of Europe.

Paper mills are common in all the States: there is a great consumption of writing, as well as of printing paper, throughout the country, but it is made of cotton, and is of very bad quality.

The Americans follow the example of the English in various articles of their industry: they manufacture all sorts of leather articles, which differ but little from the English. They export to the Spanish islands, and others in that quarter of America, and even to Venezuela and other places on the Continent, large quantities of horse trappings, shoes and boots, principally from Salem, Boston, Providence, Philadelphia and Baltimore. The

best work in leather is done in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, and the best tanning in Delaware.

Gold and silver are worked in almost all the large cities, and some of the workmanship is very well executed. There is a multitude of watchmakers and jewellers shops, but they are supplied from France, Switzerland, England and other foreign countries.

There are several manufactories of common glass, but very few of fine crystal. The manufactory in Pittsburg, in Pennsylvania, however, has been for some time past in the highest reputation. A complete service of cut dishes and bottles of all sizes, was made in it for the President of the Union, which in point of cutting may be compared with the most beautiful European glass: the quality of the glass has not the whiteness and brilliancy of that of England.

In New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, there are various forges for working iron; and in many States of the Union, principally in those of the North, they make the most necessary implements of husbandry, carpentry and shipjoiuery; but they are neither well made nor well tempered, and it is necessary to have recourse to those which are brought from Europe.

Tin ware is indifferently made in Connecticut, Massachusetts, and some other States; but copper is still badly worked, and in small quantity, because the Americans supply themselves with the

greater part of the vessels and utensils of this metal that they require, from Europe, and especially from Germany.

Locksmithery has been lately introduced into the country; but the workmanship is bad, and so dear, that if a lock is broken, it costs less to purchase a new English one, than to have it repaired. Cutlery, and all manufactures of steel, are brought from England.

Every species of fire arms, and side arms, are manufactured in the States, and cannons of every calibre are cast for the land and sea service. The founderies of Philadelphia, Richmond, and Washington, cast from 200 to 300 cannons a year; and the manufactories of Springfield, New Haven, and Harper's Ferry, make from 20 to 30 thousand muskets. As the insurrection in the Spanish provinces of America opened a market of considerable profit for all kinds of arms and munitions of war, the manufacture of these articles in the country has been attended to with greater zeal since that period, and they have continued to export and sell them to the revolutionists. Many have been also carried from Europe in American vessels, principally from the Hanseatic towns, from Holland and France, and being there stored, have been reexported to the revolted provinces of America. But this traffick has of late declined; for the English have undertaken to provide these provinces with arms and munitions of war, and as they furnish them cheaper

than the Americans, they have supplanted the latter, leaving them little or nothing to gain by that trade.

There are also manufactories of gun powder in New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore, and one was established, three or four years ago, by a Frenchman, near Washington, in the State of Delaware;* but all these manufactories are of little consideration, badly managed, and very inferior to those of Europe.

It will be seen, from what has been said, that the Americans still depend upon Europe in relation to manufactures; and that it is not possible to perfect or multiply their own, under the present system of their government and laws, and during the existing order of things. Each manufactory has, in general, worked hitherto only for the district, or at most for the state, in which it is established, and the amount of exports of American manufactures for the whole Union is very trifling: the value does not exceed the sum of five millions

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* The author has, several times, made use of the phrase "near Washington, in the State of Delaware," which might lead foreigners into the errour of supposing, that Washington was in that State. The powder mills referred to, are situated on the Brandywine creek, near *Wilmington*, in the State of Delaware; and the powder made by M. Dupont, is regarded as inferior to none manufactured in any part of the world. T.

of dollars per annum. I cannot omit, however, to speak of some machines invented or used in the country; for they deserve the attention of every nation that desires to promote and facilitate the progress of their manufactories. The one is for making nails, and the other for making wool and cotton cards. The first is worked by water, and makes 140 nails in a minute; the head and shaft of the nail are made by a single motion. A child may work the machine, and it requires a very small volume of water to give it the requisite motion. It is so constructed, that its motion may be stopped at pleasure in one part, without interrupting thereby the play of the other parts.

The card machine is still more ingenious: to form every double tooth in the card, the machine moves the metal plate, stops it and perforates it, draws the wire, cuts it, stops and doubles it; carries it to the frame, introduces it into the little holes previously made in it, and doubles it again: these ten distinct operations are repeated 143 times in a minute, and may be continued at that rate for the whole day, with but little labour. A little boy or girl may set two machines to work at the same time, and make 25 cards a day. The cards are superiour to those made by hand, as their teeth are more regular, stronger, and more elastick.

The *Steamboat* is also an invention of that country; but it is already too well known in Spain,

and in the greater part of Europe, to make it necessary that I should speak of its construction, or its great utility. No one doubts the advantages of the Steamboat, for the navigation of rivers and canals, and for military defence at the entrance of ports and bays. The invention is susceptible of many improvements, and even of being carried to perfection.

The machinist, Fulton, who was its author, was the inventor also of another machine, which he offered to France, and to England; but being accepted by neither power, he finally offered it to the United States, who it appears adopted it. He gave it the name of *Torpedo*, though it does not produce the effect attributed to this fish, but rather that of an artificial mine. The Torpedo is a box made of copper, which is filled and charged with gunpowder; it has a spring lock within to give fire to the powder at will. The machine is enveloped in a covering of cork, or other light material, floats under the water, and by means of a harpoon applied to the sides of a vessel, it is fixed under the keel, the lock then goes off, and the vessel is blown up in the same manner that a castle is, by the explosion of a subterranean mine. The Americans have yet had no opportunity of making use of this machine; but they will doubtless employ it, when they consider it necessary or convenient. Terrible, however, as the invention of this mode of destruction may be, there is this consolation to humanity,

that it is not easy to make use of it; for it very rarely and with great difficulty occurs, that the combination of circumstances is altogether favorable for striking the harpoon against the sides of an enemy's vessel, and fixing this dreadful machine under the keel, without its being discovered and prevented by the enemy.

Another invention of this kind is, what is called the infernal machine. This machine was invented by an armourer of Philadelphia. It is composed of seven musket barrels, united by a breech. like the common muskets, but proportioned to the size of the seven barrels: they are loaded with 30 balls each, and are so connected, that upon being fired, there is a continued discharge of 210 balls, one after the other, which, having the advantage of being directed by a single aim, may all take effect. It may with reason be called an infernal machine; for it is capable of defending against any attack, however powerful it may be. The Americans have used it with great success in their naval battles, and to this may be principally attributed the victory in the famous battle of Lake Erie, in which the whole English squadron was captured, owing to the mortality and confusion caused by this machine in one of the English vessels that boarded the American Commodore.* The Ameri-

* This is another mistake of the author: there was no *infernal machine* on board the fleet of Lake Erie, nor did any of the English vessels board the American Commodore. T.

can vessels of war generally carry six of these machines, which they place in the chainwales, for the purpose of raking the enemies' decks and destroying particularly their officers. The machine has been lately ordered to be used in the army, two to each battallion.* Nothing can be more terrible in land service for the defence against cavalry, or the bayonet, than these machines, which may be easily carried upon a mule, and by means of a rest, which is planted in the ground with the greatest facility, they may be pointed to any direction required. It is of singular utility in defending breaches from any attack whatever. I sent one of them to the government of Havanna, with a person to direct how it should be loaded and fired: but notwithstanding my desire, that all expedient use should be made of it, and though the illustrious Intendant Don Alexandro Ramirez did every thing in his power to procure its introduction and general use, it appears that, to this moment, nothing has been done.

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* The whole of this account of the use of *any infernal* machine, in the army or navy, is erroneous. The author, it is supposed, alludes to a *repeating gun*, invented by Joseph G. Chambers, of Pennsylvania, the property of which is, to fire 224 shots in rapid succession, allowing time, however, to point the piece to a different aim, at each shot. The House of Representatives of Pennsylvania, passed a resolution authorizing the governor to contract with the inventor for a very trifling supply of his guns; but they were never brought into use, either in the army or navy of the United States. T.

Commerce of the United States.

Commerce appears to be the grand basis of the prosperity, wealth, and power of the United States. But without stopping here to point out the insolidity of this basis, when it is not perfectly combined with the produce of the agriculture, manufactures, and industry of the country; and without bringing to mind, the destructive vices which are always cherished in the bosom of a Republick or of a state, which owes its grandeur only to commerce, I shall confine myself, at present, to give a succinct, but correct, idea of that which is carried on by the Anglo-Americans with foreign nations.

The independence of the United States, had scarcely been realized, and the people of the confederacy, freed from their internal conflicts, had scarcely begun to revive their efforts towards opening a vast career to their commerce, when the memorable revolution of France broke out, and gave origin to the wars which desolated Europe from that period to the general peace of Paris.

The period which elapsed from the year 1789 to 1814, was as flattering and fortunate for the Anglo-Americans, as it was dark and disastrous to the nations of Europe. The former prodigiously augmented their number of merchant vessels; and their flag, respected as neutral in every sea, not only carried the productions of their own country to the

ports of the belligerent powers, but the produce and merchandize of foreign countries, to the different markets of Europe and America. The value of their exports in 1791 amounted to 19,012,041 dollars, including two or three millions, the value of the produce and merchandize of foreign countries introduced into the United States and thence again exported to the markets of other nations; and the value of imports for the consumption of the country, amounted to 19,082,828.* In proportion as the war became more general in Europe, and the necessity of maintaining large armies and fleets required an extraordinary and enormous consumption, the commerce of the United States increased with astonishing rapidity; and, with the exception of what it suffered during the embargo, and the war which the government undertook against Great Britain, *to please Napoleon,*† it did not decline till

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* According to *Blodget's Tables*, for 1791, the exports, for that year, from the United States, of *American productions* alone, amounted to the value of 28,206,688 dollars. T.

† That one who, like Don Luis De Onis, had on so many occasions experienced the independent firmness of the American government, should reiterate the stale accusation of *French influence*, is really extraordinary. He could have travelled no where through the United States, without finding daily occasion to remark the great prevalence of an *opposite* influence, and to verify the observation of a discerning traveller, "that he never saw an *Englishman* in the country, that was not treated as a native, nor a *Frenchman* that was

since the general peace of Europe. In the year 1794, the value of exports amounted to 33,043,725 dollars, including 16,848,625 dollars, the value of foreign produce reexported from the country; and the imports from different parts of the world, amounted to 93,020,515, including 46,642,725 of foreign articles, which were in part exported afterwards, leaving the nett result of imports for the consumption of the country, according to calculation, at 88,900,000. The commerce varied but little in the last years of the 18th century; and taking as the scale from that period, the years 1802, 3 and 4, the result, according to the statements of the Treasury Department, (official) is an average of 143 millions of dollars: in exports 68 millions, to wit, 24 to England, 4 to Russia and Germany, 9 to Holland, 12 to France, 7 to Spain, 2 to Portugal, 3 to Italy, 1 to China and Bengal, and the remaining 6 to other parts of the world; in imports 75 millions, to wit, 36 from England, 7 from Russia and Germany, 6 from Holland, 8 from France, 5 from Spain, 1 from Portugal, 2 from Italy, 6 from China and Bengal, and 4 from other parts of the globe.

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not treated as a foreigner." The charge is still more strange, as coming from Don Luis, since he seems to take particular delight in calling the citizens of the United States, *Anglo-Americans*—a term which can have no other ground of propriety for its application, than the prevalence of English sentiments in the country. T.

The articles of exportation, with their value, are the following: the productions of the country, such as salt beef and pork, wheat, flour, and other articles of the animal and vegetable kingdoms, 17 millions; cottons 7 millions; tobacco 6 millions; lumber, soda, and other productions of the forests, 4 millions; produce of the fisheries 3 millions; manufactures of the country 2 millions, amounting in all to 39 millions. The 29 millions remaining are of foreign articles, such as woollens, linens, sugar, coffee, tea, wines and other liquors which are brought into the country, and exported again for foreign markets.

The importations from England, consist principally in woollen and cotton goods, in hardware and delft: those from Russia, Germany and Holland, in cordage, coarse linens, glass and toys; from France, in wines, sweet oil and fruits; from China, in tea and nankins; from Bengal, in white cottons and muslins; and from Spanish America, the French and English Colonies, in coffee, sugar, cocoa, molasses and rum. In the years 1806 and 1807, this commerce reached its *maximum*—for in the first of these two years, it amounted to 191 millions of dollars, and in the second to 211 millions—103 in exports, for the most part of foreign goods and produce, and 108 in imports. It fell in the succeeding years in consequence of the prohibitory decrees of Napoleon, and the English orders

in council, as well as on account of the embargo, and the war of the United States with England.

Under favourable circumstances, the value of the Anglo-American commerce, cannot be calculated, one year with another, at more than 200 millions; but at present it cannot amount to half that sum, for the general peace in Europe, has not only put a stop to the extraordinary consumption which the armies and fleets of the belligerent powers required, but has also opened the seas to all nations. Every one brings from America, and other parts of the world, what is wanted for their markets, according to the extent and state of their marine. The island of Cuba, opened to foreign commerce, injures the Anglo-Americans, as much as it benefits Spain. The colonial produce, which was before carried by the Americans, is now exported from the island in the vessels of various nations; and if all the possessions in Spanish America, enjoyed a like free commerce with that island, and would not supply themselves as hitherto from the contraband commerce of the English and Anglo-Americans, the revenue of the customs in the Spanish possessions, would produce enormous sums to the treasury; and the commerce of the United States would suffer a still more fatal blow, for they have nothing to export to these possessions, their commerce with them being altogether carried on in foreign goods and produce.

The balance of trade is generally against the United States, as it respects the islands of Cuba

and Porto Rico, which are the only islands that enjoy a free commerce; and the same thing would occur in all the other Spanish possessions, if the same means were adopted, to grant them a free trade. They gain by their trade with France, Spain, Portugal, and Italy, but lose with England, China and Bengal. The balance in favour of England is not less, one year with another, than 12 millions of dollars; and calculating the amount of the balance in their favour with other nations, to cover this loss and that which they suffer with China and Bengal, their general loss cannot be less than 7 millions. It may be said, as a certainty, that the English are the only people who gain by their commerce with the Anglo-Americans: the payments which the latter make to the former are in coin; and by this means England opens a certain channel by which she receives all the gold and silver, which the Anglo-Americans derive from Spanish America. And she entertains neither jealousy nor inquietude about the commerce which they carry on with those possessions, since they export to them nothing but English goods, or such produce as the English have not; and because the most precious returns, gold and silver, and the raw materials of the greatest importance, go to supply her markets, and the manufactures from her workshops go to continue this trade, so favourable to the interests of her nation and her government.

The Americans derive, notwithstanding, great advantage from this trade, for they do not fail in general to gain upon the commodities which they export from England, and they have besides the secure benefit of their freight—an advantage which not only seems to cover, but considerably to overbalance, the result in favour of England, if we compare the imports and exports of her commerce with the United States. But to judge correctly, on which side the real advantage lies in this commerce, it is necessary to keep in mind, that the Anglo-Americans, for want of sufficient funds for the wide extent of these speculations, avail themselves of the credit of the rich capitalists of England, and are consequently obliged to pay the stipulated interest upon the value of the articles, for which they are credited. The English derive great benefit from this circulation of their capital, for there is no nation that possesses it in such considerable and disposable quantity: they neither pay for in advance, nor sell upon credit, any thing but articles manufactured in their own country; and besides the advantage which they have in the copious exportation of these articles, in which their manufactories abound, they enjoy that of the interest just spoken of, and that of receiving payment from the Anglo-Americans only in effective money, or raw materials not produced in their own country, which they manufacture and sell again to the same Anglo-

Americans at a very considerable profit: so that the merchants or speculators of the United States, are compelled to repurchase from England, at 20 millions of dollars at least, the very same thing which they sold for five, if we take into this calculation the necessary expense of freight. England has continued thus constantly to draw from the United States the money that comes into them, and to reduce the commerce of that country to a mere deceitful chimera, from which none but their capitalists and manufacturers really draw any solid profit; and it is clear, too, that while it drains these States of money, it impedes, paralizes or destroys their industry, by the flattering illusion which this round of continual speculation and of constant anxiety keeps up. The Anglo-Americans are bewitched by a sort of fanaticism, which does not permit them to see the absolute dependence in which England holds them. They know very well, that their industry cannot enter into competition with that of England, because their country is scarcely peopled even on the sea coasts, and borders of the great rivers, and because wages are excessively dear in it: and they know, that they want both population and machinery to facilitate labour, and economize hands and expense—essential circumstances, in which England has a decided advantage, not only over the United States, but over every other people, even the most civilized and indus-

trious. But notwithstanding their knowledge of all this, they have hitherto made no efforts to change the course of their commerce, and undertake a system adapted to their true interests. The country is exhausted of money, and it is believed that the amount of it at present in circulation, in all the States of the Union, does not exceed 20 millions of dollars. This scarcity of effective funds, and the failures which are continually succeeding each other throughout the country, have debased credit and publick confidence. The Banks had facilitated the speculations of the merchants, by giving them, in paper money, the sums they wanted, in exchange for their notes at a discount of six per cent. per annum; but so excessive has been the multitude of Banks in that country, and so disproportioned to their *specie*, the quantity of paper money which they had and still have in circulation, that the publick have no longer any confidence in them, and only suffer them from the consideration of not losing the whole. The Banks would be declared in a state of bankruptcy, were all or the greater part of the individuals who hold their paper to demand payment in specie. The Bank of the United States, which was created two years ago as a national establishment, under the direction of the government, is that which is most in discredit; and, at the last session of Congress, memorials were presented from various States of the Union,

petitioning for its abolition on account of the scandalous frauds and robbery of the publick, committed by its directors and officers. The reasons alleged against this Bank were but too weighty, and the proofs but too evident; but as the Executive power had a decided interest in supporting it, for the sake of using its funds in their necessities, nothing was decreed against it, except to place it under the immediate inspection of the Treasury Department, and by this means at the absolute disposal of the Executive power.* Thus, then, without sufficient funds to pursue their mercantile speculations, and without credit either in or out of the

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* The Act to incorporate the subscribers to the Bank of the United States, was passed in April, 1816. It was established with a capital of 35 millions of dollars, *one fifth* part of which only was subscribed by the United States: its affairs are governed by twenty five directors, *five* of whom only, *who must be stockholders,* are appointed by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. The officer at the head of the treasury department, has a right to demand a weekly statement of the concerns of the Bank, but has no authority whatever to regulate its proceedings, nor to dispose of its funds. Don Onis was sufficiently acquainted with the nature of our government, and the limited powers of our Executive, to know that he was stating what was not true, with regard to the funds of the Bank of the United States. He knew that neither the Secretary of the Treasury, nor the President, could have the absolute disposal of any funds, unless by the authority of the people of the United States. T.

country, the Anglo-American merchants know not what to do, and commerce is as it were paralized at every point of the Union. The English have endeavoured to draw off their balances in specie, and other nations will give no credit to men who thus abuse publick faith. It has been heretofore every where said, that a Jew could cheat the most circumspect and sagacious; but experience has long since established it as a positive maxim, that an Anglo-American will completely overreach the most astute and cunning Jew. These people not only manage to impose upon, and to sacrifice strangers, but they are continually destroying each other, by horrible frauds and impositions in their transactions and dealings.

It is astonishing, in a country so advantageously situated for commerce, where they have no imposts or taxes to pay, where every species of industry is entirely free, and where far from having suffered calamities by the war, or other disastrous events, as in Europe, they acquired such large fortunes, and enjoyed so much prosperity during the unfortunate contest among the European nations, that the people should be found plunged in wretchedness, and the commercial houses almost all either bankrupt or tottering.

Such is the present state of the Anglo-Americans; and it is easy to perceive and trace the causes which have led to this rapid and ominous decay.

I consider as the first, or as the most destructive, of these causes, the great abuse which they made of the many advantages and chances, which circumstances afforded them, from the period of the French revolution to the general peace in Europe. Their avarice and ambition were evinced from that time with a portentous excess; they absorbed every thing; they gave an extent to their commerce which they were not capable of filling up: the foundations that supported it, were fragile and precarious; the moment of need arrived, and their commerce was ruined. The period of success, prosperity and splendour, which they enjoyed, fascinated their imagination, and excited their vanity; and an excessive luxury extended itself over the whole Union, and over all classes of the people. This luxury embraced both sexes, from the artizan and simple day labourer, to the richest merchant, and most influential gentleman: it reigned in the large cities, in the towns, in the villages, and in the country to the same extreme, and confounded all classes, for all dressed in clothes alike costly and fashionable. In the furniture and decorations of the houses, the same magnificence and ostentation prevailed. It is true, that in their meals, the Anglo-Americans are neither very delicate nor very profuse, when they have no guests: *potatoes and cold salt meat, with a little butter, is the daily sustenance of the wealthiest persons;* but a rivalship in luxury pre-

dominates at their entertainments, tea parties, or balls, in their coaches, horses, equipages, servants, and in every thing that tends to support a brilliant and splendid exterior. There are other articles of luxury, which they have converted, throughout the country, into articles of the first necessity; such, for example, are the wines of Madeira, Oporto, Sherry, the Canaries and France, French brandy, coffee, tea, sugar, and butter; (though the last is the product of the country;) for there is scarcely an individual in the United States who does not every day take coffee with milk, bread and butter, and the same thing at night, with the same accompaniments.

It is calculated, that the Anglo-Americans annually consume 30 millions of pounds of butter,* and according to the statements of the revenue department, each individual consumes ten pounds of sugar, two and a half of coffee, one of tea, and fifteen of molasses. It is calculated also, that the Americans consume, annually, 100 millions of bottles of wine and brandy, and 500 millions of bottles of beer, cyder, and other liquors; and that the amount annually spent in clothing exceeds 100 millions of dollars.†

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* He has elsewhere said 300 millions, which is much nearer the truth. This is, no doubt, an errour of the press. T.

† The *Don* very often forgets, that his determination to abuse the people of the United States at all hazards, and at

From what has been said, an accurate idea may be formed of the excess of luxury in the United States; and if to the statements of which I have spoken, are added others of which mention is made in this memoir, it will be easy to calculate the annual consumption of these States. Habituated

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the same time to furnish statistical views of their wealth and power, must necessarily lead him into absurd contradictions. It will hardly be credited, even in Spain, that a people, accustomed to regard all the *luxuries* he has enumerated, as *articles of the first necessity*, and to make such an enormous consumption of other articles of living previously pointed out, could content themselves, even when they had no guests at their dinners, with *potatoes and cold salt meat*. The *Signor Don Luis de Onis, Gonzales, Lopez*, and *Vara*, Lord of a thousand cities, and Chevalier of a thousand orders, was in the habit, while in this country, of courting the company of tea table tattlers, and even of questioning the *kitchen servants* of those whose hospitality he shared, with a view to collect these *scandalous* anecdotes. There are those *in every country*, who disgrace the dignity of their nature, by affecting a style of living beyond their rank or means—who, for the sake of making an ostentatious display before *company*, and of exhibiting a splendid hospitality to *strangers*, who despise them, will deprive *their families* of every comfort, and descend to every species of meanness in their domestick economy. But the great mass of the people of these States, according to the author's own showing, have the means of decent and comfortable living in greater abundance, and do actually live in more comfort, than any other people in the world. T.

as these people are to such luxury, and to such an enormous consumption, they cannot at once abolish the one nor the other; and hence the embarrassments in which the country finds itself. I have before pointed out some of the other causes which have contributed, and still contribute to this decline, and ruinous obstruction, under which the Anglo-American commerce labours. The other causes are obvious, resulting from the very elements of the federal constitution, and from the contradiction and contrariety of interests and of ideas, among the different States of which the Union is composed.

The mercantile speculators, who have disposable funds, dare not undertake any thing, with the gloomy prospect which commercial transactions now present. I say, those who have disposable funds, for there are many who have them not disposable, who have not been able to realize them, in consequence of the severe losses they have lately sustained in all their expeditions; and there are others, who although they have saved a considerable estate from the bankruptcies they have made, conceal it by affecting to be left without means. The number of the latter is very considerable, in all the ports and cities of the Union. Of a hundred bankruptcies, there will be scarcely one that is not fraudulent; there are few countries in which speculation and traffick are carried on with so much stratagem, and fraud, and scandal. Good faith is a mat-

ter of very little consideration with the Anglo-American commercial speculator: he knows no other law than his own interest; he feels no other impulse than that of avarice, and respects nothing but money. Such is the ditinguishing characteristick of the Anglo-American merchants, and such in general is the character of the greater part of traders, of whatever nation they may be.*

Whilst those who possess capital, will not employ the smallest part of it in the promotion of the agriculture, manufactories, and industry of the country, and whilst along with their speculations there still prevails a destructive luxury, that swallows up more than all the branches of agricultue and national industry produce, commerce must always be illusory or precarious. It will become still more so, if foreign nations would facilitate and effectually protect the progress of agriculture, manufactories, and industry, in all their provinces and dominions, as well external as internal, by removing the trammels that now oppress and obstruct it, and by adopting such wise and prudent ordinances and tariffs for its regulation, as would obtain for it, if not the preponderance over that of other nations, at least an

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* This is a sort of saving clause to the *Don*. If he places the merchants of all nations upon a par, the *Anglo-Americans* have no more cause than the others, to be offended at the *charming* character he gives them. T.

equality with the most speculating and active. Spain has nothing to envy any other nation in the world: her topographical situation, the fertility of her soil, the excellence of her productions, the abundance of all raw materials, and of every thing necessary to life, or useful for pleasure, afford her the natural means of becoming the first nation in Europe. All acknowledge this truth; and nothing is wanting but to adopt adequate and proper measures to realize it. These are very obvious, and the great Jovillanos points them out in one word, in his *Agrarian law:* to respect the right of property, and let every one manage it as it suits him. In fact, of what use is it to the labourer to toil for a plentiful harvest, if he is not permitted to export and sell his wheat how and where it suits him? Of what use is it to the manufacturer to spend immense sums in perfecting his art, if when he has brought it to the highest state of perfection, there comes an exclusive privilege, or a diminution of duties upon the same foreign goods, and thus entirely destroys the fruits of his industry? Commerce, like water, always seeks its level, and wherever there is a scarcity of one commodity or produce, there the merchant will carry it without being solicited to do so. If Spain would sell her wheat to the English, Portuguese, or French, on terms which are needed in Spain, the Americans, English, French, and Portuguese, would flock to Spain with their overplus, and the

level would be established in that part of the peninsula where this commodity was scarce; whereas even by means of publick granaries, or by fixing, as England does, such a price as to prevent the exportation, all the calamities cannot be prevented. So long as the prejudice or panick terrour which exists upon this point, cannot be removed, agriculture will not be encouraged, nor manufactories promoted. But I am digressing from the principal object of this memoir, having been carried away by the excitement of my zeal for the good of my country, and must now return to the thread of my subject.

Although the present state of the commerce of the Anglo-Americans is not so flattering, as it is perhaps thought to be in Europe, and although it is either completely paralized, or in extreme decline, it will not be extraordinary if it should recover and soon reach a safe and brilliant course; which will depend upon circumstances, and upon the conduct of European nations.* It is well known that this Republick is advantageously situated by nature, for commerce with the rest of America, with India, China, and Europe: that the acquisition of the Floridas will make her mistress of the Bahama chan-

* Only a few pages back, the author positively asserted the impossibility of the United States ever recovering their commerce, alleging the obstacles inherent in the nature of their government. T.

nel, where the English possess several islands, communication with which they may obstruct in time of war: that the possession of the river Columbia, and the establishment of Astorita, on the Pacific Ocean, which Great Britain ceded to them by the last treaty of commerce, will open a wide field for their enterprises and commercial speculations,—while at the same time the two Floridas will afford them a great abundance of excellent ship timber, and the bay of Tampa will supply them with all the advantages to form a commodious, safe, and spacious port. On the right of the Mississippi, they possess an immense country, where they already have establishments of great consideration; and New Orleans appears naturally destined to become the emporium of the wealth, which a commerce with the productions of these vast regions, and those of the East, as well as the consumption by their inhabitants, must produce, if the augmentation of population, and the progress of industry in those countries, should at all correspond with the magnificent hopes of the people of the Union. They enjoy a still greater advantage: that of being able to dispose of their property, of their estates, their labour, and their industry, at their own pleasure, and as they judge most conducive to their interests. Another advantage, in which they are alike superiour to all other people, is that of not being obliged to contend with monopolies or privileged establish-

ments, with taxes or burthens, municipal or governmental. The Anglo-American is free in the possession and enjoyment of his property: he speculates and does with it what suits his convenience or pleasure, and has nothing to pay but the duties upon the importation of foreign goods or produce. *These two advantages will always give a great superiority to the people of the United States, over all others who do not possess them;* because they communicate to labour its greatest effect, and to the spirit of industry, and love of country, their greatest latitude, *without which no nation can rise to prosperity.** We may perceive the importance of these two advantages to the United States in the

* This may be called a *precious confession,* on the part of his Catholic Majesty's Embassador to the Court of Naples. Don Luis de Onis, loaded as he was with titles of nobility and orders of chivalry, was accused by his countrymen of an overweaning partiality for the free institutions of the United States; and it is evident, from the curious nature of this memoir, that it was written with a view to exonerate himself from this charge in the eyes of the Cortes, and to induce them to regard his treaty as the most advantageous that could be obtained from the United States. The sentiments of the man, are constantly at variance with the policy of the minister; and it may be seen, amidst the petty scandal which he was at so much pains to pick up and retail, that under every important view, he has been more lavish of eulogy to the United States, than almost any other foreign writer, who has spoken of them. T.

instance of Louisiana: so far from bringing any thing to the Treasury, while it belonged to Spain, the maintenance of it cost immense sums; but now, under the dominion of the United States, it produces a profit of three or four millions of dollars. The same thing will happen in a short time with the Floridas; *for it is irrevocably decided in their politics, that these provinces must be theirs, amicably, or forcibly; and there is nothing at present to prevent it, locked up and surrounded as they are by the territory of the Union, with ten millions of inhabitants so disposed as to prevent any foreign nation from setting foot into them.*

Military force of the United States.

Every citizen, in every State, from the age of 18 to 40* is comprehended and enrolled in the militia of the country, and obliged to serve when called upon. The only persons exempt are, the President of the United States, the ministers and officers of the Executive branches, those of the Judiciary, the members of the two houses of Congress, and their respective dependents; the officers and dependents of the Customs, post offices, roads and ports; inspectors of exports, pilots and mari-

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*45 is the exempting age. T.

ners, and those exempted by the laws of their respective States.

According to the President's message to Congress, on the 9th March, 1816, the total of the militia of the Union amounted to 748,566 men; and as the number of the citizens of the Republick cannot have increased much since that period, it must be very little different at present. It is a generally acknowledged truth, that the militia are the firmest and most powerful bulwark of national defence, particularly in a republick; and I believe they might become equally so in a monarchy. Well organized, and well disciplined, they might serve in garrisons, and in the field when necessary; and besides, they might furnish the best recruits for the army, and supply a people already acquainted with and accustomed to arms, for the formation of new veteran corps,* as circumstances required.

The Anglo-Americans are, in general, of a robust constitution, and have all the qualities necessary to make good soldiers. They have per-

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* *New veterans*, is rather a droll term in the English language, but the meaning of the author is sufficiently evident. It is quite a new thing to see the minister of a monarchical government, an advocate for Militia. Don Onis, however, was well aware that the Supremacy of the *Cortes* was firmly established; and that it would be much more to his interest to evince a respect for republican principles, than to prop the falling dignities of *his Majesty*. T.

sonal courage, fortitude and pride: they think themselves superiour to other men, and the spirit of liberty which every where animates them, inspires them with arrogance and audacity. Notwithstanding this, however, they will never be good soldiers, under their present system of laws, government and customs. Their Militia, except that of the State of Massachusetts, are very badly organized, and entirely without subordination and discipline: every State has its own, and they are bound to serve only within the State, and for a limited time, which in general does not exceed six months. The Executive has no authority to dispose of them, except in the case of foreign invasion, or in the event of an insurrection or civil commotion; and even in these cases, the generals and officers who command them, must be appointed by their respective State. It is hardly necessary to point out the embarrassment, confusion, delays, and evils of every kind, that must occur in this Republick, whenever it becomes necessary to call out and employ the Militia for the defence of the country, against an expert and powerful invading enemy, or to quell a well arranged and well supported revolution. It must be remembered moreover, that although the Anglo-Americans are presumptuous in the extreme, they have generally an aversion to military service: they all live more or less at their ease, employed in some kind of industry; and either contented with

their situation, or animated with the flattering hope of rendering it better, they think of nothing less than the service of arms, and look upon it with disgust, or with profound repugnance. The vague idea they entertain of civil liberty, makes them still more incapable of submitting to the discipline, subordination and fatigues of military service; for all consider themselves equal, all resist obedience, and all believe that there is no law for disturbing them in the course of their proper occupations, or in the repose of their domestick life.

Such are the people, of whom the Anglo-American militia are composed, and I must not omit to observe, that although their number is very considerable, there are few who have arms. The Congress have passed various acts, at different periods, ordering that each State should provide its militia with a complete armament; but the order has never been complied with in the greater part of them.

The veteran army in time of peace, is reduced to ten thousand men, infantry, cavalry, artillery, and engineers. In time of war, it is increased by volunteer recruits from the different bodies of militia, for the Constitution does not allow of conscription or forced enlistments for the service; and hence it comes, that the government find it impossible to augment the army as it judges necessary or convenient in time of war, for it is difficult to find recruits. In the late war with Great Britain, authority was

given to the President of the United States to increase the army to 62,448 men; but notwithstanding the enthusiasm with which the people were inspired, by the persuasion that the Republick took up arms only to defend *their commercial rights and the liberty of the seas*—notwithstanding all the efforts and artifices that were employed to obtain volunteers and recruits; and notwithstanding the premium of 150 dollars for enlistment, and 150 *acres* of uncultivated land, offered to every soldier at the conclusion of the war, they were unable to enlist, by these means, in 1814, more than 13,898 men, and during the heat of the war, which was in 1815, the whole army did not exceed 32,160 men. This proves, how difficult it is to induce the inhabitants of that country, to quit the conveniencies and pleasures of domestick life to take up arms, even in cases of the highest importance, and such as would seem most calculated to rouse their self love and their national pride. This little army, however, cost the United States, in the year 1815, the exorbitant sum of 29,423,763 dollars, according to the statement of the War minister, including 600 thousand dollars for the expenses of fortifications, 2500 for books and plans, &c. required for the War Department, and 7,500 for the military Academy.

The highest rank they yet have in the Anglo-American army, is that of Major general; next to that is the Brigadier general, and the Adjutant and

Inspector general. The first receives 200 dollars pay per month, and fifteen rations a day. The Brigadier general has 104 dollars a month, and twelve rations per day: the Adjutant and Inspector general has the pay and rank of a Brigadier, and six rations a day: a colonel 90 dollars a month, and six rations a day: the lieutenant colonel 75 dollars, and five rations; the major 66 dollars and four rations; the captain 50 and three rations: a sergeant has eight dollars a month, a corporal 7, and the soldier 5. This little army costs the United States more than one of treble the force would cost any power in Europe; it is badly organized, and possesses but few notions of modern tactics. The art of attack and defence of fortified places is still unknown to the Anglo-Americans, as well as that of the most important and decisive evolutions in the field. They have not yet adopted a Staff in their army, nor have they gone beyond the simple practice which they learned from the English or French, in their war of emancipation and independence.*

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* A practice in war, that leads to *emancipation and independence,* however little it may be in unison with modern tactics, can never be wrong. That our army cost more than it ought to have done, during the late war, is not to be denied; but that was owing to a thousand contingencies with which military science had nothing to do. It was neither the fault of the War Department, nor of the military officers

The President of the Union, is the commander in chief of the army, and of the whole armed force, with the rank of Lieutenant General; but he, in general, knows nothing of the military art, having pursued an entirely different career, that of diplomacy, or of jurisprudence and literature.

When the English, during the late war, entered the Chesapeake Bay, and prepared to ascend the Potomack, for the purpose of falling upon Washington, President Madison was in that capital, and not knowing what to do, precipitately mounted his horse, and fled to Virginia, leaving no orders whatever to repel the enemy. The English entered, without the slightest opposition, into the Capital of these States; and having burned various publick buildings, directed their march towards the City of Baltimore. The terrour and dismay had operated as far as Philadelphia, which is 120 miles distant from that city, and measures were already taken there to capitulate with the

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in service, that the army required such enormous expenditures. If *Congress* had been willing to appropriate *half the sum* at first, which they were compelled to grant at last, to the demands of the service, the whole expenditure would have been lessened in that proportion. But, unfortunately, it costs our government more to maintain the congressional principles of *economy*, than it does any other nation to support the most lavish extravagance. T.

enemy, should they present themselves. But the English lost their best general, Ross, before Baltimore, retired in considerable perturbation, and returned to their ships after a slight skirmish. A dexterous enemy might have succeeded in this enterprise, laid the whole country under contribution from Washington to Philadelphia, and made good their retreat at will; for every thing was at the time in confusion, and there was not a single corps capable of resisting veteran troops.

By this a judgment may be formed of what the Anglo-American army is; and it will never be otherwise, while the present constitution subsists, and while the states persist as heretofore in their system of neither augmenting nor improving it, for fear of its committing abuses against the liberty of the country.

But if every thing conspires to render their army insignificant, their fleet is every day receiving augmentation, and is already upon a respectable and brilliant footing. The Anglo-American sailors, if they do not exceed the English in skill or courage, like them possess the profoundest knowledge of naval tactics, and great experience in every thing that can contribute to a favourable result in naval actions. It is true that, hitherto, they have had no actions, except of ship to ship, and with small divisions on the Lakes, but in all they have manifested great skill and great bravery.

When their navy shall be adapted for grand battles, they will no doubt show the same superiority, of which the English now boast so much; and will, perhaps, surpass them, excited as they will be by emulation, pride, and that fierceness of enthusiasm which a republican spirit inspires. Every thing is well organized in their marine: the vessels are of excellent construction, perfectly fitted and armed: a rigorous discipline, due subordination, and the best order, are observed in them. There is no instance of an Anglo-American commander or officer having faltered in his duty, or of his having failed to support, even in the most difficult extremities, the honour of his flag: an officer who should conduct himself in any other manner, would not only be punished with severity, but his name would be for ever loaded with infamy, and abandoned to publick execration. These are the principles which make an army or a navy formidable; without them, no matter how many soldiers or ships a state may have, it must not flatter itself that it has an army or a navy—it may spend immense sums to support these two bodies, which are the pillars of national defence, but it will experience nothing but disasters, defeats and losses, when the necessity for employing them shall arrive.*

* This is the highest compliment that was ever paid to our navy by a foreigner, and may atone for many harsh things, which the author has elsewhere permitted to slip

The United States' navy is already composed of 62 vessels, among which are four 74's, that mount from 96 to 102 guns each, and 10 frigates of 36 and 41, the latter of which mount 56 guns. The rest are brigs, corvets, schooners, ketches and bomb vessels, generally of 12, 18, and 24 guns. They have, besides, one steam frigate, and another nearly finished, for the defence of harbours, and several gallies, gun boats, and barges. There are five naval *depots*: at Washington, Philadelphia, Norfolk, New York, and Charlestown, in Massachusetts, at each of which ships and frigates are now on the stocks, for the augmentation of the navy. The United States manifest the most decided and constant zeal, for the progressive increase of their naval force, and it will not be long before they have a formidable fleet. In 1816, Congress appropriated one million of dollars annually, for a period of eight years, for the augmentation of the national fleet, and authorized the President to build nine ships of the line, to mount at least 74 guns, and 12 frigates, to carry at least 44. One of the ships of the line, is already finished, and launched at Washington, forming one of the four of which I have

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from his pen. He seems correctly to understand the only principles that can give solidity to a government, or render the power of a nation formidable; and in this exposition, there is a fair acknowledgment on the part of his Majesty's Minister, that our Republick is not vain without reason. T.

said the Anglo-American navy consists. The frigates and the remaining eight ships are not yet built, but they will be in a short time, probably before the expiration of the eight years; and Congress will again appropriate another sum, and authorize the President to build other ships, frigates and smaller vessels, going on thus without intermission, until they possess a fleet corresponding with the exalted ideas of aggrandizement, dominion and naval power, which fill the presumptuous imagination of every Anglo-American.

The plan which the minister of marine presented, in 1816, for the annual increase of the navy, was intended to show the propriety of increasing it every year, with 202 guns, and that the whole cost every year would be 1,018,676 dollars. The cost of a 74, which, as I have said, carries 96 guns, is estimated in the United States at 333,000 dollars, and that of a 44 gun frigate, carrying from 54 to 56 guns, at 198,000. The cost of vessels that mount from 32 to 74 guns, is estimated at the rate of 4,500 dollars per gun—of those that mount 20, at 3,500 dollars per gun, and so in proportion.

The government has all the vessels belonging to the national marine built by contract, and merely appoints inspectors to see to the quality of the timber and the construction: by this means much money is saved, and the vessels are well built, and without delay.

A 74, in time of war, carries only 656 men, and a 44 gun frigate no more than 450, including commandant, officers, marines, surgeons, seamen and all others. By the statement of the Secretary of the Navy, it appears, that the pay and all other expenses of a 74 in actual service, amount to 189,740 dollars per annum: of a 44, to 134,210, and of a sloop of war or corvette, from 22 to 59,162 dollars.

By these *data* it will be easy to calculate the whole value of the navy which the United States have now in service—what it would cost to augment it—and how much would be the expense in time of war, or in actual service.

For the perfect organization of this navy, it might be supposed, that a Secretary would be chosen from among the principal commanders; but it is quite the reverse: there never was a professional Secretary of the Navy, during the ten years that I resided in that country, and as I have heard, experience shows that it is not expedient to have professional ministers of marine, if it is desired to keep the marine in order; for the *esprit du corps* which always governs them, is opposed to all reformations and ameliorations that are at variance with old practices. The first Secretary of the navy whom I knew, was a gentleman of probity: the second, was a captain in the merchant service, and the present one is a judge, well known for his integrity

and learning. There is, however, a commission composed of three commodores of the greatest ability and reputation, for the direction of every thing that relates to the navy: they make the contracts for timber and other requisites for ship building; they recommend to the Secretary the inspectors, whose duty it is to attend to the building of vessels, the promotion of officers, and such ordinances as the good of the service requires; and the Secretary, with perfect impartiality, recommends to the President, who gives his sanction. To this board of commissioners, and to its extraordinary organization, the navy owes its present brilliant standing. In the English service, it is alike unusual to have a professional man at the head of the marine.

National Revenue.

The first branch of the revenue of the United States is the product of the Customs, which consists of the duties upon foreign importations, and the tonnage duty. This revenue amounted in the year 1815, to 37,695,625 dollars; but this was more than it had ever before produced. In 1814, it yielded only 4,415,382 dollars, and at present, its product may be estimated at about ten or twelve millions at most. Another branch of great importance, is that of publick lands in the States and Ter-

ritories of the Union, which are at the disposal of the federal government. By a calculation made in 1808, by the Secretary of the Treasury, in his *exposè* on the resources of the country, it appeared that, without including Louisiana, the federal government at that time had one hundred millions of *acres* (the *acre* contains 43,560 square feet) capable of cultivation, north of the river Ohio, and fifty millions south of the State of Tennessee. In Louisiana, whose extent is nearly equal to all the rest of the United States, the government holds an immense quantity of lands, and east and west of the Mississippi, there are not less than one hundred millions of acres at its disposal. The Floridas, and all the territories claimed from Spain as belonging to Louisiana, will give a very considerable addition to this immense fund of publick lands. The government has charge of the whole, and may dispose of them according to the exigencies of the Republick; it has authority to sell them to the natives of the country, and to foreigners who settle in it with the intention of acquiring the right of citizenship: it has sold some, and is by little and little disposing of them as it finds it expedient and proper. The object in selling them only in small parcels, is to stimulate purchasers and obtain a better price. If we take the average of what the sales have hitherto produced, we may estimate the actual value of these lands at the rate of two dollars per

acre, and making this calculation for the whole of the lands now at the disposal of the government, we shall find that the value will not be less than one thousand millions of dollars. The amount will be still greater hereafter, for in proportion as population and cultivation extend, the lands will acquire greater value, and there will be a greater number of purchasers.

Thus it appears, that the Anglo-American government, in the acquisition of territory, has for its object not only an extension of the limits of the country, already too great, and the preparing by this means for the dominion of the whole of the New World to which it aspires, but also that of laying up an immense fund of wealth and resources, in lands that are yet wild and uninhabited, the sales of which will be at its disposal. Louisiana was purchased for 60 millions of francs, (12 millions of dollars) and if they should acquire the Floridas in compensation for losses and injuries sustained by the citizens of the United States, as was stipulated in the late treaty, taking upon themselves indemnification for the same to the amount of five millions of dollars, the result will be, that the three provinces mentioned will have cost them no more than a disbursement of 17 millions of dollars;—though, in reality, Spain will have derived an advantage of 15 millions from the Floridas, for her debts to the United States amount at the least

to that sum, and 8 millions for which France must be responsible to Spain for the injuries caused by the French, as is also stipulated in the same treaty; amounting in all to 23 millions.*

To these two great branches of publick revenue in the United States, must be added that of the duties which every inventor, or discoverer of a machine, or any useful invention, has to pay when he requires from the government an exclusive patent, for using or disposing of his invention or discovery for the term of ten years. If the patent is granted, he is obliged to pay thirty dollars. The years 1812 and 1814 were those in which this small branch of revenue produced the largest sum: in the former it amounted to 6,660 dollars, and in the latter to 6,090. Lastly, must be added the revenue from the mail, which is an establish-

* This reasoning of the Minister, sophistical as it is, no doubt had considerable weight with the Spanish Cortes; and if M. de Onis was enabled to persuade them, that Spain would gain 23 millions of dollars by the cession of the Floridas to the United States, he deserves immortal credit for his ingenuity. That France would ever pay them any portion of the sum at which they valued the ceded territory, never could have entered the imagination of so astute a politician as Don Onis: it is difficult to conceive, therefore, why he should have been so anxious to obtain the ratification of his treaty, if the suspicions entertained of his predilection for the American Republick were not true. T.

ment of the government: the largest sum it has produced, namely 135,000 dollars, was in the year 1815.

The Banks also contribute something to the national treasury, when the government sanctions their institution; it then stipulates with them to pay a *bonus* for the protection which it affords them, but this contribution is temporary and determinate. That which was instituted in 1816, under the title of the Bank of the United States, or National Bank, was obliged to pay to the government a *bonus* of a million and a half of dollars, although the government took seven millions of the stock, in the name of the United States, upon which it was to receive the dividends. In time of war, or in great publick emergencies, Congress imposes a direct tax upon all the States, and besides this, if necessity requires it, it imposes a tax upon every article of luxury, and even upon many which are not articles of luxury, as was the case in the late war against Great Britain. They are in the habit also of authorizing the President to create a paper money, or treasury notes, and to solicit loans, appropriating funds for their extinction, stipulating the time and places of payment, and the annual interest to the lenders, until the debt is redeemed.

Assistance was obtained from all these resources during the late war; and although they

did not equal the high expectations of the government, they nevertheless produced very considerable sums, for the voluntary loans on interest produced alone in the year 1813, the sum of 20,089,635 dollars—in 1814, 15,030,546 dollars—and in 1815, 20,406,897. A part of these loans was realized to anticipate the produce of the direct tax, and to enable the government promptly to meet the publick exigencies, and fulfil its engagements.

When we examine the branches of which the ordinary revenue of the United States consists, and their annual product, it seems to be matter of astonishment, that this product should be more than sufficient to cover all the publick expenditures, and leave a considerable surplus every year in the treasury, notwithstanding all the functionaries and officers of the republick enjoy considerable salaries, and are paid with the greatest punctuality. But this astonishment will cease, if we observe the simplicity, good order, and exactitude, which prevail in the plan of the revenue of the United States. Its collection in all the States costs less, I will be bold to say, than that of the revenues of the Spanish crown in a single province: the duty is assigned to few officers, but these are of known integrity, and respectability of character. The plan is perfectly simple, and is accomplished in all its parts with inviolable regularity, and punctual performance. The expenses of the publick service, are

as follow: the salary of the President is 25,000 dollars per annum; that of the Vice President, five thousand; of the Secretary of State, six thousand; and of the Secretaries of the Treasury, War and Navy, the same. All the officers, clerks and messengers of the State Department, cost no more than 12,096 dollars a year. In the whole department of the Treasury and its branches, including the salary of the minister and his clerks, the annual expense is no more than 112,062 dollars. The War Department, with all its offices, clerks, accomptants, messengers, dependents, &c. costs annually 83,875 dollars. The Navy Department, with all that belongs to it, costs 45,330; and the Post Office establishment, with all its clerks and dependents, 34,595—total 322,925 dollars. The Senators, with their Secretary, officers and clerks, 10,150—the House of Representatives 16,600 dollars.* All the tribunals of justice, magistrates, judges, attornies and dependents, paid by the general go-

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* The author has made an enormous mistake in the expenses of Congress, into which he was, perhaps, led, by the never ending cry of that body for *economy*. Don Onis, no doubt, thought it impossible, that these servants of the publick, with the charge of extravagance continually in their mouths against *all other* publick functionaries, should *themselves* receive a compensation, amounting to considerably more than half the sum which he has stated as the annual expense of our government. T.

vernment in all the territories and States of the Union, by a calculation nearly approaching the truth, do not cost more than 90,000 dollars a year. The government pays only those in actual service; it gives neither pensions nor sinecures; the expense, therefore, is increased or diminished, in proportion to the number of persons employed. Foreign ministers receive a salary of 9,000 dollars a year, and 9,000 outfit, which amounts to 18,000 dollars for the first year, and as they are in general frequently changed, and moved from place to place, according to the favour they enjoy, it follows that the extraordinary expenses are very great. The Secretaries of Legation have 2,000 or 2,500 dollars a year: the consuls have no salary, with the exception of those in the regencies of Africa. Notwithstanding this, in the year 1816, the whole of those employed, did not cost more than 92,332 dollars. The *Mint*, and all employed in it, cost 12,735 dollars per annum. So that the publick expenses, the civil list and judiciary, the foreign department, together with what is paid to the governors of territories, and allowing a large sum for incidental or extraordinary expenses, do not amount to 700,000 dollars a year.

The Army and Navy are the two objects of greatest expense to the government, but in time of peace the first consists only of ten thousand men, commanded by two major generals and four briga-

diers; and the navy is dismantled, except a few vessels in commission—so that, even in these two branches, which cost most to the national treasury, the expenses become very much reduced. The great art of the government is always to apportion the amount of its expenses to that of its certain revenue, and to save something from the product of the latter, every year. Notwithstanding this prudent conduct, however, their immense engagements during the war of the revolution; the disbursements for the purchase of Louisiana, and various Indian frontier territories, and the expenses of the late war with Great Britain, have formed a national debt, which presses but too heavily upon the government of the Union. On the 1st of January, 1818, it amounted to 116,490,582 dollars, notwithstanding the periodical redemption and extinction of large sums. But the general government has appropriated the publick lands for the payment and extinction of this debt, and some other resources, under the management of a special commission, which proceeds with the greatest activity and exactitude in the discharge of this important duty; and it is probable, that within a few years the whole debt will be redeemed and extinguished, if the United States continue at peace with all nations, or if some unfortuate event should not disturb the present order of things in that country.

The view which the United States present, in this and many other respects, is doubtless glorious and admirable: the progress which they have made in only forty years of existence; the rapid increase of their population, their wealth, their physical strength, and their resources, all appear great, if we compare the short period in which they have acquired this power and splendour, with the series of ages which it has required for other nations to raise themselves to a flourishing and respectable state. But the people of the United States are not, in reality, a new people: they are a mixture of people, who have emigrated from the most civilized nations of Europe, and who have carried with them to that country, all the light and knowledge which these nations have been many ages in acquiring. The extraordinary events which have disturbed and afflicted all Europe, and the subsequent convulsions in Spanish America, have given to them that wealth, and power, and grandeur of attitude, of which they now boast.

This people, however, do not appear capable of raising themselves to that colossal greatness to which they aspire, nor to any solid and lasting glory. A compound of individuals of various nations, they have no true national character, and devoted to commerce and speculation, interest is their idol. They carried with them to the deserts of North America, the corruption and the vices of

the most degenerate people in Europe;* and this corruption and these vices have met with no barriers in a country where all are free, and where *luxury and an insatiable thirst of gold are the predominant passions: extreme egotism, avarice, and other sordid passions, distinguish the character of the Americans.*† Their manners, in general, resemble those of the English, though they are always accompanied with a certain rusticity, and a provoking arrogance that particularize them. The inhabitants of the United States are *descended for*

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* Let the reader compare this with what the author has said on the foregoing page, and he will discover a direct contradiction—*There*, he says, they brought with them "all the light and knowledge" of "*the most civilized nations of Europe*"! T.

† It was to be expected, after the "glorious and admirable" view, which this extraordinary writer had just given of the present state and future prospects of the people of the United States, that he would turn the canvass, and exhibit the reverse of the picture. Such is the plan of his memoir, from beginning to end; and such a plan was essential to the attainment of the object for which he wrote it. It was necessary to give all due weight to the power and resources of the United States, in order to show the little prospect there was of his being able to bully them into a more advantageous treaty; and it was equally necessary to express his contempt for the people, in order to prove that he was not influenced by fear or respect, to yield to all their demands. T.

*the most part from English families,** and although a multitude of individuals from other nations are incorporated in their population, the *anglomania* is always prevalent. The institutions of the country, copied chiefly from those of England; the same laws for the administration of justice in civil and criminal cases; the same language, the same enthusiasm for commerce, and the same spirit of domination and pride, render the two people very similar. The Anglo-American looks upon every nation with disdain or contempt, admiring the English only, and making it a glory to draw his origin from her.† But their situation at the head of the New World, without rivals to impede or restrain their march; an immense and varied surface of territory; their rapid and astonishing progress in population, the arts and indus-

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* He has just before said, that the people of the United States brought with them to America the corruption and vices *of the most degenerate nation in Europe:* whether he meant to give *England* this enviable preeminence, by stating so immediately afterwards, that they are for the most part from that country, his *English Reviewers* may inquire. T.

† This is better and better. How will the Don reconcile this character of the American people, or the *Anglo-Americans,* as he is pleased to style them, with his downright assertion, that they went to war with England, *to please Napoleon?*—T.

try; the brilliant series of their prosperity; the powerful success of their arms in the late war against Great Britain; and the respect which they fancy they have inspired in the principal powers of Europe, have raised their vanity to an extreme, of which it is scarcely possible to form an idea. They consider themselves superiour to the rest of mankind, and look upon their Republick as the only establishment upon earth, founded upon a grand and solid basis, embellished by wisdom, and destined one day to become the most sublime colossus of human power, and the wonder of the universe. It is not only in the mouths of enthusiasts, or demagogues, who seek to inflame the imaginations of the mob with seductive and exalted ideas, that this language is heard; it resounds from every side. The works of all the Anglo-American writers, are strewed with these haughty sentiments, these brilliant predictions, suggested by an overweaning vanity. Their publick monuments attest the excess of this pride and ostentatious confidence. The house in which the Congress hold their sessions, they call the *Capitol:* a little rivulet near it, about three yards wide and a fourth deep, they denominate the *Tiber.* Many of the meanest settlements, have the names of the most celebrated cities of Greece and Rome.* Every thing breathes

* Paris, London, Madrid, and even Rome itself, were in their *origin* perhaps as inconsiderable and mean, as the

extreme affectation and vanity in the United States; but the sensible man, who examines things with impartiality and profound reflexion, cannot but foresee the ruin of these States, in the blind impetuosity of their ambition, and the excess of their pride. The very Constitution, in which they glory, involves the elements of their discord and dissolution. A federative Republick, where the interests of the States are at variance with each other, and where the passions and vices carry every thing before them, would be a singular phenomenon in the history of human establishments, if it should endure long. The States of the South are dependant for nothing upon those of the North: their interests, and even the feelings and customs of the inhabitants, are different. Those of the East are, as it were, insulated from both; and it is New Orleans only, and the regions of the Mississippi, that offer a brilliant and flattering prospect to their trade and speculations. These States and all those that at present exist, or that may hereafter be formed, in the vast regions of the Mississippi and the Missouri and along their waters, will of necessity break the chain which unites them to the federation; for their relations and their interests will not

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new villages in our country that bear high sounding names. It is not the *name* that makes the city important or ridiculous. T.

then depend, nor do they now depend, upon the Atlantic States, and the immense distance which separates them, will stimulate their inhabitants to the division.

The federal government appears to be insatiable in the acquisition of territory: it has never ceased more and more to extend the limits of the country, and every day to enlarge them with new acquisitions; but it does not reflect, that in the wide extent which it has given, and goes on to give, to the countries of the Republick, it is sowing the seed of its future political dissolution. The Anglo-Americans have heretofore been fortunate, for the Republick has yet experienced none of the torments which are accustomed to spring up in every country, in which a popular government prevails. Their population, scattered over an immense territory, in small cities, (for with the exception of Philadelphia, New York, Baltimore, Boston and Charleston, there is not one that deserves even the name of town,) and at insulated points, very distant from each other, there has been no possibility yet of conflicting shocks; but from the moment this population is increased, united, and formed into a large and compact mass, commotions and convulsions will be inevitable. The federal or general government has not sufficient strength to prevent or dispel this crisis, nor to hinder its ominous results. The executive power is

badly combined with the legislative and judicial: it wants the most indispensable faculties for causing obedience to the laws, and maintaining good order in the country; and it has power and existence only by the continual exertion of an astute and seductive policy, whose object is to blind the people with flattering and false appearances, to intrigue in elections, and to gain a preponderant party in the legislative body. It has no other effectual means of succeeding but by corruption in the elections, and bribing those representatives who have most influence and most power in congress, with posts and places that are at its disposal. The people are acquainted with these abuses, and declaim against them. The gazettes and periodical papers throughout the Union, abound in vehement declamations upon this particular. The democrats and federalists carry on a war with the pen, clamorous in the extreme: each party pleads in behalf of those whom it wishes to raise to power, and abuses their antagonists; *but the executive power, and the legislative body, pursue their unalterable course, and are either insensible to the clamours of the publick papers, or despise them.** They are all accustom-

* Whether the author intended it or not, he has certainly paid here a high compliment to the conscious rectitude and strength of the American government. It keeps the "even tenour of its way," in full confidence, that, however gazettes and demagogues may declaim and rail, there is a saving virtue in the people to secure the stability of the Union. T.

ed to hear these declamations, and even the most vigorous and authentick accusations, but nothing makes an impression upon them. The liberty and well being of the state, then, are in the hands of congress, for the Constitution has clothed them with great power, and has entrusted to them the direction and the destinies of the Republick: but intrigue and factions have prevailed in it for years past. The Executive power began to enslave it, if I may so speak, from the first years of the presidency of Madison; and if this influence continues to increase, the meetings of congress must necessarily become a mere formality. The Executive will seize the sceptre, and the confederation will go to ruin: some States will submit to the person who has the greatest influence, and others will separate from the Union, and constitute themselves under a different system.

Such are the effects which, in the natural order of things, the conflict, or badly organized union, of these two powers, will one day produce. The judiciary enjoys an entire independence; but it has not, nor can it have, any influence upon the publick destinies of the confederation. Limited to the administration of civil and criminal justice, it decides according to the laws and established forms of the country; and often by the *dictum* of the judges, for the Anglo-American legislation is the most informal, the most vague, and the most vicious, of which I have any knowledge. It consists of all the old farrago of the English laws, and the

successive accumulation of acts and general orders of Congress: to this chaos is added an immense multitude of commentators, casuists and writers of jurisprudence, who open a field of infinite extent for the opinions and subtilties of the dialectician and forensick metaphysician. The judges pronounce arbitrarily, and it is very common to see one decide for, and another against, in the same case, and under circumstances perfectly equal.

Besides the general laws of the Union, there are particular laws in each state, made by its respective legislature; and hence it results, that what is a capital crime in one state, is not so in another, and that a debtor, who has no means of paying his debts, is free in some states, and sent to prison in others. This difference favours the frauds of the corrupt, and affords impunity to crimes, and triumph to collusion and swindling. Under such a legislation, imposition must become an art, and in fact there is no country in the world, where there is so much of it. The lawyers convert the forum into a hall of ostentatious declamation and refined sophistry: they support the *pro* and the *con* with equal serenity, and always find in the laws some text or other in their favour.* It may be said,

* *We wonder,* if the author ever saw a country, in which the lawyers did not support the *pro* and the *con* with "equal serenity," or a code of laws, in which, if the gentlemen had skill and ingenuity, they would not find "some text or other in their favour." T.

that no art has made such progress in the United States as the art of pleading, or forensick intrigue: it affords considerable fortunes to those who follow it; and it rarely happens that the lawyer does not accumulate wealth, or acquire a brilliant establishment—their number consequently is immense. In a single city in the United States, no doubt more lawyers would be found, than in a whole province, or perhaps a whole kingdom, of Europe.

In a country where the people are moderate and enlightened, and where the laws are simple, clear and definite, the institution of trial by jury is in its nature excellent, but it is of little use in the United States; for not being yet in that condition, the judge there has always too much influence on the jury, and even sometimes dictates to them, how they should decide in the case before them. In criminal cases, the proceeding is generally conducted with great humanity, or with great indulgence; and the repugnance to inflict capital punishment is so great, that I have been present at trials of the most horrible cases, even for assassinations well proved, where the delinquent has escaped, under the pretext of some informality in the process. In cases of this nature, the law has no modification of punishment, and the culprit must either be acquitted or condemned: an informality in the process prevents his being condemned, and he is consequently acquitted. There is a case well known throughout the Union, of a rich Jew at Norfolk

having a few years ago publickly assassinated an honorable merchant of that city, and being permitted to go at large, on the very spot where the assassination was committed, saved from the gallows by this means. With regard to civil cases, the passions meet in conflict as every where else, and intrigue exercises all its power. In suits instituted by foreigners against Anglo-American citizens, the juries very seldom decide against their countrymen, for patriotism will not always suffer them to fulfil the strict duties of equity, particularly where it opposes the predominant policy, which is to let no money go out of the country. The laws furnish subterfuges to elude the most clear and tenable actions, and the judges generally lean to the interest of the country, even when they are conscious it wants both reason and justice.

Law suits are interminable, when the lawyers unite for that purpose; and they act with absolute independence, in the direction and prosecution of suits, almost always without consulting the parties, and without asking any information or instruction from them, after they have taken upon themselves the prosecution or defence, and received the documents and papers upon which either is founded. They make the parties pay exorbitant fees, and almost always in advance.

I might here enumerate other vices and abuses of judicial proceedings in the United States, all

emanating from the defect of the laws, and the arbitrariness of the judges, as well as from the tortuous course which the lawyers are permitted freely to pursue. I will merely remark, that in no country in the world, is there so much use made of oaths in tribunals, or where perjury is less common. But the only punishment that results from the proof of a witness, or either of the parties (for both must establish their action by oath) having committed perjury, is that his testimony produces no effect.*

In criminal suits, it is necesary that the crime should be completely and *superabundantly* proved,

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* Don Luis de Onis, in this, shows himself either more ignorant of the laws of our country than, from his situation, might have been expected, or designedly guilty of misrepresentation. From his avowed attendance upon our courts, it is not probable he could have been ignorant, that *perjury* was a capital offence; but his feelings and prejudices, in the trials for *piracy* (as he is pleased to term it,) which took place at Baltimore, and to which he subsequently alludes, led him to regard every witness as *perjured*, whose testimony went to acquit the South American patriots, who were the accused. If the judges and juries of Baltimore have no greater fault to answer for on the great day of account, than their acquittal of those who were arraigned on that charge, they may sleep for ever without feeling a single sting of conscience. No evidence could be more explicit, no pleadings could be freer from sophistry, no law could be less susceptible of cavil, than those under and by which, the trials alluded to resulted in the acquittal of the accused. T.

before the penalty of the law can be imposed: if the proof is not complete and superabundant, the accused escapes, (as I have before said) without having any arbitrary penalty inflicted on him. If an individual is prosecuted in an action for a definite crime, and the guilt is not completely established, but legal proof comes out in the course of the trial, that the accused has committed some still greater crime, he is acquitted, and suffered to escape, because the action was not brought aginst that particular offence. The object of legislation being to prevent the perpetration of crimes, by giving a terrible warning and example to the publick, in the punishment of delinquents, and to administer justice with rigorous exactitude, to afford triumph to truth, and to dispel the falsehoods, frauds, and sophistries that obscure it, it appears that the laws of the United States do not completely fulfil this object; at least, the practice of the tribunals manifests the contrary. I must further add, that the President, in all the States, and the governors, in their respective States, have the power of pardoning capital offences, giving absolute impunity to the culprits, as if they were perfectly innocent, from a generosity, in my opinion, badly understood.

What I have said will suffice to give a comprehensive idea of the legislation and forensick system of the Anglo-Americans, and of the faculties and conduct of the judiciary in their republick, to

which it may be added, that they are not exempt, from the influence of the Executive, nor of the people, as experience has shown, by their partiality in the causes of piracy brought before the tribunals and juries of Baltimore; a thing which no unprejudiced Anglo-American will dare to contradict, if he really entertains a love for his country. I will conclude this part of my subject by remarking, that although the judiciary, from the confusion of the laws and the prevailing vices of forensick practice, do not prevent the evils for which their institution is designed, they act in a separate sphere, neither dependent upon, nor holding any intercourse with, the other two powers. This branch, therefore, can have no part or influence, as I have said, in the struggle or conflict which exists between them, from the very nature of the constitution, and which must every day become more and more general, in proportion to the progress of corruption in manners, and the height to which ambition and other powerful passions are carried in a young country.

The people are generally well instructed in all the principal points that concern their interests, in the progress of the government, and in many of the dangers to which the Republick is exposed. The periodical papers and gazettes which inundate the country, show all this to the publick, well or ill, according to the views of the editors, or according to the party or passions they espouse. The govern-

ment also has its pensioned editors, who support and eulogize its conduct. Every body reads the publick papers in that country, and there is scarcely an individual in a thousand, who does not know how to read and write; and even in the most miserable hamlets, in the cottages, and in the woods, the gazettes are received and read. The carman and the most rustick peasant, the mariner, the artisan, the labourer, all, all are informed of the state of publick affairs, and all talk politicks;* but their ideas are always superficial, and the result, as is natural, is that they are led away by the demagogue who happens to have most eloquence and most popularity.

The two parties which have had the strongest conflict in the Republick, are the democrats and the federalists: the first is composed of what is every where called *the vulgar*, and the second of men of standing and wealth, distinguished not only for their fortunes, but also for their education and the splendour in which they live. Both parties aspire

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* And yet the author predicts the ruin of such a country and such a people! No. While the artisan and the labourer, the mariner and the peasant, all, are instructed in publick affairs; while they can all read the gazettes and think for themselves, demagogues may declaim, foreigners may write and predict its dissolution, but *the Republick* will still hold its "stand upon the adamantine rock of human rights." T.

to posts of authority in the Republick, and this is the principal object of their emulation and fortune. The democrats wish for the establishment of an Agrarian law, an equality of fortunes, and an absolute confusion of classes; but not being able to accomplish it to the extent of their wishes, they make the greatest efforts to occupy the places of highest honour and profit; and as they embrace the multitude in their number, they carry every thing before them in elections, when the federalists do not exert all their influence and power, to prevent, or neutralize at least, the frenzy of the popular party, and restrain their unbounded excess and corruption. The system of the federalists consists in giving the principal posts and authority to meritorious persons, and such as enjoy estates and considerable fortunes, distinguished for their character and talents—circumstances which are seldom found united except in those of their party: hence, then, proceeds the origin of their opposition to the democrats, who labour to concenter every thing in adventurers and those who belong to their faction; and since the elevation of Jefferson to the Presidency, their triumph has been complete, and it continues with little difference under the present President, for the federalists have shown themselves passive or indifferent, abandoning themselves to a sort of apathy,

ominous without doubt to the prosperity of the Republick.*

When the Presidents are of the democratick party, they distribute offices only among their own party, and leave nothing undone to please the populace, and obtain the favour of the multitude: they thus manage to keep themselves for a long time at the head of the nation, and to be reelected a second time—that is to say, for eight years, as has already been the case with all the Presidents, with the exception of the second, Mr. Adams, over whom democracy triumphed, giving him a successor at the end of the first four years. The present President,

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* It is not possible, that the author can here be giving the result of his own observations: there is too much in it of the *slang* of party, to have come from one who felt no party attachments. There seems to be a strange and unaccountable sympathy, existing between all foreigners, *of a certain class*, and that party, to which Don Onis assigns all the respectability and talents of the country. No intimacies are formed, while such foreigners remain in the country, but with them—no familiar intercourse, by which alone they could judge of the characters of men, subsists but with them; hence it is, that they find *estates, character, and talents* so "seldom united, except among the federalists." No foreigner, unprompted, could think of denominating nineteen twentieths of any people, a political *faction*, and that is about the proportion between the two parties, of which he speaks, in the United States. But such ridiculous absurdities scarcely deserve notice. T.

Monroe, although of the democratick party, is a man extremely moderate, sagacious and enlightened: he has endeavoured to unite the two parties, and has succeeded to a certain degree; but they are now beginning to form two other parties, denominated of the North and South; and as the latter will have the preponderance in Congress within a few years, a division of the Union into two or more republicks will be the inevitable result. It is probable, that in the next election Monroe will be confirmed in the Presidency for another four years.

Political system, and relations of the United States with the different powers of the Globe.

The United States had scarcely seen their independence acknowledged, tranquillity and good order established in their Republick, and the place settled which they were to hold among independent powers, when they formed the ostentatious project of driving from the continent of America the nations that held possessions on it, and of uniting under their dominion, by federation or conquest, the whole of the colonies. As a preparation to realize this gigantick plan, the United States began by procuring a geographical and statistical survey of the whole continent, and islands which they coveted. They sent emissaries every where, and even mili-

tary expeditions, under the orders of well informed and experienced chiefs, to explore the internal provinces of Mexico, and the islands of Porto Rico and Cuba; they procured correct maps of those dominions of Spain; made themselves acquainted with the soil, climate and productions; formed connexions with their inhabitants, and endeavoured to scatter among them the seeds of independence, proclaiming that the happiness they enjoyed in their Republick was due to their wise Constitution. The travels of captains Pike, Lewis and Clark, through the interior provinces of New Spain, had this object; and they furnished exact maps of that country, and information till then unknown even among ourselves, as well upon the advantages which might be derived from a commerce with those countries, as upon their climate, number of inhabitants and Indians that peopled them, troops that garrisoned them, and passes badly defended or neglected, through which entrance might be gained with facility into the kingdom of Mexico. The Spanish commandants in the interior provinces, instead of opposing these incursions, which they ought to have regarded as hostile, permitted them, whether from fear of committing the nation with the United States, or because they believed that they were not of much consequence. But let the object have been what it might, of this there is no doubt, that the Anglo-Americans, encouraged by this proof

of our weakness, became every day more daring, and had scarcely taken possession of Louisiana, when they demanded as a part of it, the territory between the river Mermenta and the Sabine, of which possession had not been given at its delivery. Our commandants of Tehas, without force to defend this territory, made a convention with the United States, in which it was stipulated that the whole of the country should remain neutral and unoccupied by either power; and although our government did not sanction this convention, it appears from the fact of their not having afterwards occupied the country, that they tacitly acknowledged it. I will not stop to enumerate here the infinite prejudices which we have sustained from this, since it is notorious that it is in that country, all the armaments have been fitted out that have invaded the kingdom of Mexico: I will merely remark, that this confirmation of our weakness discovered to the United States, that they might, without risk, attempt to unite to their territory, those possessions of the monarchy which most flattered their wishes.

The revolution in Spain, and our struggle with the usurper of the throne, presented them a favourable occasion for it, which they did not lose. They began by exciting a party at Baton Rouge against the authorities of the king: they persuaded them to declare their independence, and to solicit their aggregation to the Republick; and this Re-

publick, ready to profit by a revolution which she had excited with that view, sent her troops into the territory, under the pretext of restoring order, and subsequently incorporated it with her dominions by act of Congress.

They employed the same cunning against Amelia Island, and attempted the same thing against Mobile, and the rest of the territories of West Florida as far as the river Perdido; but the inhabitants not having answered their wishes, the government resorted to Congress for authority to take possession of those territories by force, should circumstances require it. The President of the United States, under the sanction of that authority, ordered siege to be laid to Mobile, and general Wilkinson took possession of the place without firing a musket, for which his prowess was celebrated in mockery in all the publick papers, comparing Wilkinson to Buonaparte, he having, as they said, conquered the place with gold, instead of using the sword. By virtue of this capture of Mobile, the boundaries of the Republick were extended as far as the river Perdido, and the President contented himself with replying to my protests against this aggression, that the territories should remain in the power of the United States, as they had been in that of Spain, subject to an amicable negotiation; but notwithstanding this, they were immediately

incorporated with the dominions of the Republick, by another act of Congress.

The same system was in agitation with regard to Mexico, Caraccas, the Internal provinces, Santa Fé, Buenos Ayres, Cuba, and even the Philippines, and if the effect they promised themselves was not produced, still they did not abandon the plan of invading these provinces of the Spanish monarchy, and weakening and dividing them, to the end that they might offer them their protection, and unite them to their dominions. Such is the policy of the Republick of the United States as it regards themselves, and Spain, which is the nearest power, and with which it has relations of the greatest interest. We may be firmly persuaded, that nothing but the obstacles which were opposed on our part, could have made them change their system; for that power is not like Spain, Portugal, and many others that travel on almost without a system, or under one that is subject to change with every change of minister or sovereign. The United States form their plan with wisdom and mature reflection, and pursue it with intrepidity, as does England: whoever may be their governors, it is not altered one jot; unless certain vicissitudes or treaties, by changing their relations and interests, imperiously require it.

Let us now see what is their particular system with regard to England. There seems to be no

room for doubt, that the United States are firmly resolved to get possession of the provinces of Canada, New England* and *the rest of the islands* that Great Britain possesses *on the continent* of America.†// As this cannot be done at once, and it would be an absurdity to enter into conflict at present with that power, the United States, with the view of gradually preparing for this conquest, are going on to extend themselves by means of purchases, exchanges and negotiations, in the territories of the Indians that border upon these provinces; they are garrisoning all the points that can conduce to their defence, or furnish support to their attacks; they are daily augmenting their navy; organizing their army;‡ fortifying all the points by which their territory might be invaded; and, as they know they have no engineers sufficiently scientifick for this object, they

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* *New Scotland*, or Nova Scotia, the author probably means. T.

† This is a literal translation from the original, which is, *y demas islas que posee le Gran Bretana en el continente de America*. What the author means, by calling Canada, and New England, *islands*, and by islands *on a continent*, the reader must endeavour to find out. T.

‡ When speaking of the military force of the United States, the author said, that the army was *badly organized*, that they had no idea of modern tactics, that they had learned nothing since the war of independence, and that it *never could be otherwise*. It suits his purpose, at present, to take a *different* view of the subject. T.

have taken into their service general Bernard, one of Buonaparte's most celebrated officers, and are employing him with the greatest zeal in this affair. The acquisition of the Floridas, will not only round off their possessions in the South, but it will enable them to establish one of the best arsenals in the bay of Tampa. and by means of this establishment (which we have either despised or been ignorant of) and the forces which they may keep in it, and in the port of Pensacola, they will be able, in case of war with Great Britain, considerably to obstruct their commerce to the islands in the Bahama channel, and even to take possession of them, for the purpose of going on afterwards in their preparations for the conquest of the Antilles.*

It is not possible that Great Britain can be ignorant of these manoeuvres; but feeling secure in her immense strength, she has despised this petty power, firmly persuaded that she holds in her hands the means of destroying them the moment they attempt it; and I have no difficulty in believing it to a certain extent, for I saw that she might have accomplished it in the late war, if she had felt less contempt for the Anglo-Americans, and had carried on the war with them, with the same circumspection, she had used against Buonaparte.

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* This is really a brilliant scheme, and one which shows that the United States are not so *petty* a power, as the author calls them a few lines below. T.

I respect the policy of Great Britain, for I know that no Cabinet possesses this science in a more eminent degree; but I admire also that of the United States, who with a population already increased to about ten millions of inhabitants, are not intimidated by their colossal enemy, but are going on to prepare with wise precaution, not only to defend themselves against her, but to take advantage of every circumstance that may contribute to humble her. As with this view, and to take from her the sceptre of the ocean to which they aspire, they believe that France, and some other maritime powers, may render them assistance, they omit nothing in their system of policy that can propitiate their favour, gratifying them in every thing that does not directly oppose their general plan, whilst in their character and national pride, they have a sovereign contempt for all: and they regard England only, which is the power they most hate, with some respect, making it all their glory to have descended from her.*

The United States have no direct interests, but with the three powers mentioned, Spain, England and France; but their general system embraces all, and, however strange it may appear, is directed to the excitement of wars and dissentions be-

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* This paragraph of the author possesses the true diplomatick ambiguity—meaning any thing or nothing. T.

tween them: for as the result of this would be that they could carry on no commerce, the Americans would transport the merchandize of all the belligerent powers, and would enjoy, in their destruction and dissentions, the brilliant prospect of getting rid of their flour and other productions, and even of promoting their manufactories, which they know cannot enter into competition with those of England, while peace subsists in Europe.

Amidst all this, a greater or less predilection for these powers, forms a part of their system, according to the degree of influence which they possess in the general affairs of Europe, and the greater or less utility or prejudice to be derived from them to their commerce. Hence it is, that with Denmark, Sweden, Austria, Prussia, Naples, and the rest of the petty courts of Germany and Italy, with which they have but very trifling commercial relations, and from which they have nothing to fear, the United States confine themselves to a correspondence of civility, and to acquiring from them all possible preference in their commerce. They have some greater consideration for Holland, under the remote idea that their navy, together with that of France, may some day unite with their own against England. They regard Russia with distinguished courtesy, for the influence which she has in all the affairs of Europe, although the commerce they carry on with that power is of little mo-

ment. Portugal they look upon as a nullity, or rather as a colony of Great Britain, and therefore endeavour to do her all possible evil, by fomenting dissentions in her provinces, and by arming privateers in their ports under the insurgent flag, for the purpose of ruining and destroying her commerce.

With regard to the Port and the Barbary powers, the United States have refused to give them any donation, and for the purpose of protecting their commerce, they constantly keep a squadron in the Mediterranean, which has the double object of exercising their sailors, and of being always ready to take advantage of circumstances.

In respect to the revolutionists of America, it has already been said, that the United States flattered themselves that by promoting their independence, various republicks might be formed, which, but little able to defend themselves against the mother country, and maintain their independence against other powers that might seek to oppress and enslave them, would confederate with them, and that thus a single republick might be formed of that vast continent, the presidential seat of which, it was proposed, should be changed from Washington to the isthmus of Panama.* 119.

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* Another brilliant scheme, which may, perhaps, *some centuries hence*, occupy the consideration of the American cabinet. The whole of this chapter upon the policy of the

Experience has subsequently taught the Anglo-Americans, that the Spanish character is the same in America as in Europe; that they do not readily suffer themselves to be commanded by foreigners; that the minds of those inhabitants excited to rebellion are not accustomed to the republican regimen, and that the result of their independence will be the continual struggle of the different parties to obtain the command: they see that in this state of things, their favourite plan cannot be advanced, and that, on the contrary, England is the power, that will derive all the benefit from the rebels, on account of her brilliant manufactories. The discovery of the political errour they committed in encouraging the independence of the revolutionists of America, has induced them now to confine themselves to a passive commerce with them, with a view to prevent Great Britain's anticipating them; but in reality they could experience little injury from this, for, as they can carry them little or nothing which they either have not themselves, or

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United States, and their foreign relations, will serve to show the *romantick* turn of the Minister's genius. He seems to have been well acquainted with the physical strength and susceptibilities of the United States, and having reflected so long and so enviously upon what it was in their power to accomplish, he has at last persuaded himself that the schemes were actually in agitation. T.

cannot procure from England on better terms, they generally lose by the trade. For the purpose of bringing money into the country for their banks, and for their commerce with India, formal companies have been established in the City of Baltimore, who are engaged in fitting out *pirates* under the insurgent flag, which bring to the United States the proceeds of their robberies, committed not only against Spain and Portugal, but against the vessels of all other nations, which destroy the commerce of these nations, and which are bringing up a generation of monsters and assassins, that it will be extremely difficult hereafter to exterminate from the seas.*

This is the system of polity, which the United States pursue, in relation to the different powers of the globe. From this we may deduce the measures which ought to be adopted on our part with that Republick, and even with the nations of Europe. I will not presume to point them out to the

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* This, to use the *courtly* language of a celebrated English diplomatist, is an absolute *falsehood*. There are not, nor have there ever been, "formal companies in the city of Baltimore, engaged in fitting out *pirates*." If this had been true, the keen eyes of the Minister and his Attornies, would have found them out; and though the "judges and juries of Baltimore" might have saved them from the gallows, they would have been marked by the execration of their fellow-citizens. T.

Deputies of the Nation, who know better than I do the interests of the monarchy, and the resources which may be counted upon to carry them into effect. I will barely observe, with regard to the Americas, that every plan for the pacification, or union of the inhabitants of the two worlds, must conciliate the interests of the former, those of the mother country, and those of the powers interested in supporting independence; and that any system which does not unite these three objects, will produce no other effect than to disappoint the expectations of the nation: and lastly, that a fixed plan or system of policy, and of revenue, is indispensable to every constituted power; and that from the combination of these two systems, founded upon a solid and permanent basis, and resting upon the interest of the State, the result must necessarily be, the splendour of the nation, and the happiness of all the individuals who compose it.*

I am very far from wishing to find fault with the system of the United States, however it may be founded in extravagant pride, and frequently in violation of the laws of nations: the only thing

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* All the author's notions of this fixed system of polity, and of revenue, are evidently derived from the United States; for they are the only power, by his own confession, who do not change their systems with every change of Minister or Sovereign. T.

which I cannot avoid looking upon with horrour, is the system of piracy organized in the city of Baltimore, a thousand times more mischievous than that of the Barbary powers.* Nor will I impugn the system of those powers which, for particular views, have caused injuries to Spain: I know very well, that every nation is right in acting according to its own interests, and that when the sum of these requires a blow or secret injury to those that might some day or other prejudice it, there are few that have the delicacy to forbear; but this itself demands the attention of each nation, that it may oppose the designs of those that act so as to injure it; for one

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* *Baltimore* is honoured by the peculiar hatred of the Chevalier; and this is easily accounted for: the enterprising activity of her citizens, their innate love of freedom and independence, and their natural sympathies with the struggling patriots of South America, induced many of them to *expatriate* themselves, and by becoming citizens of the infant republicks, to acquire a legal right to aid them in their emancipation from the tyranny of the *Madre Patria.* The Constitution of the United States recognizes the right of every man, to throw off his allegiance, when it suits his views of happiness, to connect himself with another State; nor when this is done, can the United States exercise any further control over his conduct, while he infringes none of their laws. The insinuation, therefore, that it made a part of the system of the United States to protect their citizens in the violation of the laws of nations, is false and unfounded. T.

is not less free to defend itself against the stratagems of another, than that other is to practise them. I can only blame that power, which, knowing the arts that are used to injure it, remains passive, and instead of adopting a profound system of policy, by which the evils might be turned from itself upon the offender, thinks by negotiation, by complaints, by a mean and wretched cunning, to overthrow the wise measures of the best organized systems of policy.

NEGOTIATION

WITH

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

The disagreements which gave rise to the negotiation with the United States of America, may be said to have taken their origin from the treaty of amity, limits, and navigation, concluded in 1795. This treaty signed by Don Manuel Godoy without any geographical knowledge of the countries upon which it turned, nor of the mutual interests of the two powers, gave to the American territory about one degree, in the whole extent of the dividing line between the Floridas and the territory of that Republick, from East to West, and put into their hands the most fertile lands that belonged to the Floridas, the most beautiful rivers that flowed from Georgia and Mississippi, the important post of Natches, and other fortifications that served for our defence of the Floridas against the United States. This impolitick cession, made without any necessity, (for at that time Spain might have dictated the law to that Republick,*) proved to the United States with how

* "*That time*" has never been, since his Britannick majesty ceased to call these United States *his colonies*, when Spain could have "dictated the law" to them. Don Manuel Godoy was perfectly aware of this truth. T.

much facility they might extend themselves into the possessions of Spain, and their interest dictated to them that they should lose no opportunity that presented itself, nor neglect to excite occasions for this purpose.

Another errour was committed in the same treaty, namely, the stipulation that the flag should protect the property, in whatever war either power might be engaged with a third, while the Americans, three or four months afterwards stipulated the contrary with Great Britain; the result of which was, that the American flag protected English property from capture by us, while ours was captured under the same flag, for so had the American cabinet stipulated with the court of England. Although my predecessor the Marquis de Casa Irujo, upon giving information to our government of the conclusion of this treaty with Great Britain, represented the necessity of placing both upon an equal footing in this point, in order to prevent the injuries that might arise to us by this stipulation, in the event of a war with England, no provision whatever was made; and this has been the origin of our dissentions, and of the numerous claims of the Americans, as well for vessels captured by our cruizers in violation of the said article of the treaty, as for those captured and brought into our ports by the French.

The first of these two demands, was com-

pletely sanctioned by the convention of 1802;* but the ratification was then suspended, because the two governments had not altogether agreed as to the second. It does not require much skill to perceive, that this convention was another absurdity, for never ought Spain, under any circumstances, to have considered herself responsible for the indemnification of injuries which the bad faith of the American government occasioned us, without our having a reciprocal guaranty that England would respect that flag while it carried our goods.

As the Spanish government has shown itself ready to ratify this convention ever since the year 1802, provided the subject of injuries caused by French cruizers should be reserved for ulterior negotiations, the American merchants have made the debt, with 20 years interest, amount at present to

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* The Marquis de Casa Irujo, having seen this Memoir before it went to press, said to me as he returned the manuscript to my hands: "The Convention of 1802 is a most essential circumstance in the history of our political relations with the United States. You give it all its weight, and present it under its true colours; but it seems to be not less just than proper for me, in the situation in which intrigue and iniquity have lately placed me, not to omit, in speaking of it, the incontestable fact, that I was sent to the United States with the royal order *to sign it, and that I had the firmness not to execute it*, having discovered the insidious tendency of the stipulation, relative to losses and injuries for which the American government claimed indemnification of us."

more than 15 millions of dollars: it was, therefore, all important and imperiously necessary for the government of Spain, to get rid at once of this debt, to avoid the claims of the American government, which were accumulating from day to day, and which were so much the more prejudicial as that Republick, from the particular circumstances under which we were situated, might do justice to herself at will, and, under pretext of indemnification, take possession of those provinces of the monarchy on the continent of America, that would best suit her interests.

Another errour, of great and transcendent importance, was committed on the part of Spain, in the cession to Buonaparte, in the year 1800, of the province of Louisiana, in terms so ambiguous, so contradictory, and so unusual in diplomatick transactions, that the frontiers of the province were not marked out, nor was the stipulation even thought of, that France should not alienate it. Not till two years afterwards, and when it was already known that Buonaparte had it in contemplation to sell it to the United States, was this declaration solicited from France, and her ambassador made it by an official communication; but this did not prevent Buonaparte from selling it in 1803 to the United States, nor from compelling the king to disavow the formal protest, which the Marquis de Casa Irujo had submitted against the sale of the province, as made by

France without authority, seeing the delaration mentioned.

This and other absurdities, of which I shall make no merit, such as that of our government having subscribed to the treaties of Paris and Vienna, without having required that Louisiana should be restored to us, since the province of Etruria, for which we had ceded it to France, had been taken from us, are sufficient to show to every sensible man, that the treaty intended to be concluded with the United States, besides being extremely complicated and difficult, was absolutely necessary to prevent a rupture with the United States, which, it was to be feared, would lead to the loss of the whole, or the greater part, of South America.

This danger then was to be avoided; the frontiers of New Spain and New Mexico were to be defined in a suitable manner, so as to separate the Americans as far as possible from these precious possessions; the errours of the treaty of 1795, and of the Convention of 1802, were as far as possible to be corrected, that they might not weigh upon the nation in future; and lastly, it was important to free the national income from the enormous disbursements for which it stood committed, and which it was, by no means in a situation to be able to satisfy.

The attempting a work of this importance, at the distance I was from the government, might have appalled one of greater abilities than mine: and

therefore my whole endeavour from the first was directed to persuade the two governments, that it would be expedient and proper to establish the negotiation at Madrid. This proposition not having been admitted, I hinted that it would be better to appoint a plenipotentiary adjunct with me, as the Americans had done in 1805, when they sent Mr. Monroe, that he might in conjunction with Mr. Pinkney, negotiate with Don Pedro Cevallos, matters of so much moment; but this was not acceded to, his majesty honouring me with the most flattering expressions, and with the most ample powers, that I might alone, and without consulting any other person, negotiate for the settlement of the differences, in the best manner that my zeal and love for the monarchy should dictate.

All my hopes, then, upon these two points being disappointed, finding myself compelled to struggle alone against the American cabinet, the Congress and the Senate, and against the opinion of the people, exasperated at finding that payment for the losses they claimed was delayed, I thought it of the utmost necessity to endeavour to calm this effervescence, through the medium of three memoirs, which I published in English, under the signature of *Verus*, in the years 1810, 12, and 17; and I begun my correspondence with the Secretary of State, by discussing slowly, but with solid and convincing reasons, the rights of the Spanish monarchy to the lands in

dispute, thus giving myself time to procure from his majesty's government, those instructions which were necessary for the due fulfilment of his desires. They were, in fact, successively given to me, by Don Jose Pizarro, and the Marquis de Casa Irujo, and I endeavoured to govern myself by them in every thing essential. But carried away by the ardent zeal which has always animated me for the honour and glory of my country, I solicited and obtained several advantageous conditions which the knowledge of the country afforded me, and which it was not possible for the government to have foreseen, and in fact I signed a definitive treaty of settlement and limits with the American Secretary of State, on the 22d of February, 1819, making choice of that day as being the most sacred to the Anglo-Americans, on account of its being the birth day of the founder of their Republick, Washington.

This treaty, examined and approved by the Senate, signed by the President, and exchanged by the Secretary of State of that government and myself, I transmitted to Spain by his Majesty's Consul at Alexandria, Don Joaquim Zamorano, whom I despatched for the purpose, in the beginning of March last; but, a few days after his departure, it was published in all the gazettes of the Union, that the agent of the Duke of Alagon had offered for sale the lands that his Majesty had granted to the Duke, asserting that they were worth eight millions

of dollars, and that they had been sanctioned by the date agreed upon in the late treaty. To this publication, it was added, by the rivals of the American Secretary of State and the President, that they had suffered themselves to be deceived by the cunning and perfidious Spanish Minister, who had ceded the Floridas to them after they had lost their value, that the American citizens might be cheated out of the satisfaction they expected for their losses, from the sale of these lands. It is difficult to paint the consternation which these ideas produced in that government. The Signor, the Minister of France, was the first who, induced by his desire of conciliation, endeavoured to convince me of the necessity of removing the idea that I had acted with bad faith in this transaction, as was laid to my charge, by giving a declaration, which would be demanded of me by that Cabinet, in which I should set forth, that although the grants to the Duke of Alagon, Count of Punonrostro and Senor de Vargas, were anterior to the date that we had fixed in the treaty for its confirmation, yet we had always understood that they were annulled. I replied to this Minister, that I could not deny that I had believed these donations to have been posterior to the date fixed upon in the treaty, and that consequently they were annulled; but that if they should prove to have been anterior, I had no power to invalidate them, for that the treaty had received all the legali-

ty of which it was susceptible as a law of the Republick, and that neither of the negotiators was now competent to alter it; that with regard to the bad faith of which I was suspected, it was of but little consequence to me, for every sensible man, and the government itself, knew that I was incapable of prejudicing either of the two nations for the sake of protecting private individuals; that the honour of the king and the nation demanded that I should fix that epoch, and no other, for the annihilation of the grants, and that the treaty would not have been signed, if the American government had not subscribed to that epoch; and that I was ready to make this declaration, but not to invalidate the grants, nor alter the treaty we had concluded. The declaration was in fact demanded of me, and I gave it in the terms mentioned, leaving it in the power of his majesty to act as he thought proper on that point. In giving to his majesty an account of this incident, which I regarded as advantageous, I insinuated that if the Americans refused to exchange the ratifications of the treaty in the terms in which it was conceived, they would be exposed to the eyes of the world as a people of the worst possible faith, and his majesty would be at liberty to violate it without any responsibility; and that if, as I believed, his majesty had no great inclination to maintain the grant of these lands, he might give them up for the benefit of the American citizens, by which he

would acquire an unequalled popularity, and perhaps draw from it some advantageous conditions on the subject of the pirates, a point which I had only been able to obtain in part; or some promise (though that would have been no security,) that they would not acknowledge the independence of the ultramarine revolted provinces, until other nations had done so.

In the month of April last, the Express whom I had despatched with the treaty, arrived at Madrid, and in the August following, before the period fixed for the ratification had elapsed, I arrived myself. His Majesty received me with his characteristick goodness; did me the honour of telling me that he was well satisfied with my services, and that he had seen with particular approbation, that I had done every thing that depended upon me for the interests of the Nation. The provisional Minister of State, and the rest of the Cabinet, repeated to me that I had faithfully fulfilled the orders that had been transmitted to me, and so far from there being any charge against me, all acknowledged my zeal, prudence and activity in the negotiation. The determination, nevertheless, which had been some time before formed by the ministry and Council of State, to suspend the ratification of the treaty, was persevered in: not a single word was asked me about it, nor were the motives explained to me which had led to this determination, approv-

ed as had been all the steps I had taken during three years and a half in the negotiation, which had already lasted for fifteen years before, and had consequently been sufficiently discussed and exhausted. Under such circumstances, and knowing that whatever step I might take to explain this most important affair, would be without effect, or that it would produce no other than that of confirming the voice of those who had, in their own way, painted this treaty to his Majesty as disgraceful, and that I was of an inflexible and obstinate character, and above all partial on a subject in which I had had so large a part, I thought it a point of honour to remain passive, until I should be questioned, or until circumstances should force me to present (as I now do) to my fellow citizens, in their native idiom, the true picture of these negotiations, and the documents that have been published, translated into English, throughout all Europe. I might here make a few observations upon this treaty, which, though useless, as being deducible from the documents themselves, might contribute to the better information of those, particularly, who are not acquainted with the ground in question, or who are not profoundly versed in the interests that divide the two nations. But as, to do this, I should be under the necessity of analizing the treaty in all its parts, which before its ratification must be presented, according to the constitution of the monarchy happily reestablish-

ed, to the august assembly of the Cortes, for their sanction, I have thought it my duty until then, scrupulously to abstain from prejudicing their judgment, hoping that every intelligent man will duly appreciate the motives of delicacy that impel me to this conduct.

An impartial publick will judge, whether the treaty of the 22d February, 1819, (which is improperly called a treaty of *Cession*, as it is in reality one of *exchange* or *permutation* of one small province, for another of double the extent, richer and more fertile,) deserves the epithet of disgraceful, under which it has been painted to his Majesty, and whether I have not in it attended to the honour and interest of the nation, somewhat more, in my conception, than in the treaties of Paris and Vienna, and that of the slave trade which shut the door to the infant prosperity of our American islands, as well as others both anterior and posterior which have unfortunately committed the dignity and interests of the country.

I will agree, however, that for greater perspicuity, I might have extended the 3d article in the following terms: "In exchange, the United States cede to his Majesty the province of Tehas, &c." as the government wished me to express it; but as I had, in the correspondence which is inserted,* for

* The correspondence alluded to here, is not in the Appendix to this volume, a 2d one being in the press at Madrid. T.

three years contended that that province belonged to the King, it would have been a contradiction to say in the treaty that the United States ceded it to his Majesty, the same thing being obtained by the terms in which it is expressed, the limits that adjudge it to his Majesty being fixed, and the United States expressly renouncing all rights which they had or can have to it. This charge, with which they have sought to obscure the advantages or disadvantages of the treaty, is a new triumph to the nation, which is the only object I have always had in view.

As the treaty had been executed by me in conformity with the instructions which had been given to me by the prime minister of State, and as it moreover contained various stipulations of notorious advantage to the nation, it was not to be expected, that after its conclusion, a discussion would have been entered into to examine whether these instructions had been well or ill planned. Don Juan Esteban Lozano de Torres, and the ministers who support his opinion, could not be ignorant of these facts; but as some pretext was necessary to carry on their plans, they pretended that England, displeased at the cession of the Floridas, would take from us the island of Cuba, if the treaty were ratified, and that, upon the whole, it was better to let the Americans take them by force than to cede them, since by this means the grant of lands to the Duke

of Alagon, worth eight millions of dollars, would remain valid. To the first point, I will reply that England advised his Majesty, with the greatest frankness and sincerity, to cede the Floridas, or to make any settlement with the United States which he thought expedient, for that his circumstances, and those of England herself, who was not able to assist us or defend them, imperiously demanded it. Could England, after so frank and decisive a declaration, use this pretence to seize the island of Cuba? And if she did use it, could she not employ it with better excuse to seize it, seeing that Spain abandoned her possessions of Florida and the Tehas without defending them either by force or amicable agreement? Would she not have a more plausible motive for it, in as much as the Americans were in a situation to take possession of Cuba, to occupy it in anticipation under the pretext that it might not fall into their hands? Who can avoid making these reflexions, limited as may be his view? Assuredly no one. England has more dignity and honour than these political novices would attribute to her, and although I will not deny that in the convulsions of America they have caused us serious evils, we ourselves have perhaps provoked them by the little conciliatory conduct we have used towards her. England has given incontestable proofs of the interest she feels, in the well being of Spain, in the powerful assistance she

rendered us in our glorious struggle to maintain our independence. It cannot be supposed, that if she had had an interest in destroying Spain and taking possession of her rich ultramarine estates, she would have neglected to do it, when there was nothing to prevent her; but the Nation has another more powerful safeguard in the arms of her sons, and may whenever she pleases place her possessions beyond the power of insult from any foreign power whatever, that attempts either secretly or openly to assail her. Let her adopt the measures that a sound policy dictates, and never manifest unfounded fears that she may dispel as smoke, by her prudence and courage.

The idea that it would be more advantageous to the nation to let the Duke of Alagon keep his lands and abandon the Floridas to their fate, than it would be to support the dignity of the national character, is truly new. Besides, instead of these lands of the Duke of Alagon being worth 8 millions of dollars, it is doubtful whether they are worth at the present day three or four hundred thousand. The laws that protect the property of the individual in the United States, would not protect the Spaniard more than the American, and there can be no doubt it would have been preferable to sell them for the benefit of the treasury and to pay the claims of American citizens with their produce, than to keep them for the Duke of Alagon: and at all events the mo-

narchy would have remained under obligation to pay about 400 millions of reals for injuries claimed, and for which there were no funds.

I have thus concluded my observations: I trust, an enlightened publick will overlook the repetitions and faults of style to be found in them, for the hurry in which they were written with a view to their being ready at the meeting of the Cortes, and my approaching departure on the embassy to Naples which his majesty was pleased to confer on me, scarcely allowed me time to read them. My principal object has been to lay before the nation the authentick documents of every thing that occurred in this negotiation, and to give them an idea of the resources, population, and strength of the Republick of the United States of America, of the character of the inhabitants, and *the brilliant situation in which they stand;* that they might, with this knowledge before them, adopt towards them such a system of good understanding as the *similarity of their sentiments* might suggest. As to myself, honoured by his majesty, and satisfied at having discharged my duty, I have nothing to wish for, but that my labours may be of some use to the heroick nation that gave me being, and among whose children it is my glory to count myself.

APPENDIX.

PRELIMINARY and Secret Treaty between the French Republick and his C. M. the King of Spain, relating to the aggrandizement of H. R. H. the Infant Duke of Parma in Italy, and to the recession of Louisiana.

His Catholick Majesty having always manifested the most anxious desire to procure for his R. H. the Duke of Parma an aggrandizement, which might place him on a footing corresponding with his dignity; and the French Republick having long since given to H.C. M. the King of Spain to understand the desire which they felt to recover possession of the colony of Louisiana; both governments having interchanged their views upon these two subjects of common interest, and circumstances permitting them to enter into engagements in this particular, which as far as it depends on them, may assure reciprocal satisfaction, have authorized for this purpose, that is to say: the French Republic, the citizen Alexander Berthier, general in chief; and his C. M. don Mariano Luis de Urquijo, Chevalier of the Order of Charles III, and of St. John of Jerusalem, Counsellor of State, his Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary near the Batavian Republick, and his provisional first Secretary of State; who, after having exchanged their powers, have agreed, saving the ratification, upon the following articles:

ARTICLE I.

The French Republick engages to procure for H. R. H. the Infant Duke of Parma an augmentation of territory which shall raise the population of his estates to one million of inhabitants with the title of King, and all the rights annexed to the royal dignity; and to this effect the French Republick engages to obtain the consent of H. M. the Emperor and King, and of the other states interested, so that H. R. H. the Infant Duke of Parma may without opposition enter into possession of the said territories, at the time of the confirmation of peace between the French Republick and his Imperial Majesty.

ARTICLE II.

The augmentation to be given to H R. H. the Duke of Parma may consist of Tuscany, in case the present negotiations of the French government with H. I. Majesty shall permit them to dispose of that country, or of the three Roman ecclesiastical provinces, or any other continental provinces of Italy, that may form a rounded estate.

ARTICLE III.

H. C. M. promises and engages on his part to recede to the French Republick, six months after the full and entire execution of the conditions and stipulations herein expressed, relative to H R. H. the Duke of Parma, the colony or province of Louisiana, *with the same extent that it now has in the hands of Spain, and had while in the possession of France, and such as it*

ought to be in conformity with the treaties subsequently concluded between Spain and other states.

ARTICLE IV.

H. C. M. will give the necessary orders for the occupation of Louisiana by France, the moment the estates designed for his aggrandizement shall be placed in the hands of H. R. H. the Duke of Parma. The French may, according to its convenience, defer the taking possession; and when this is to be done, the states directly or indirectly interested shall agree upon the ulterior conditions which their common interests and that of their inhabitants may demand.

ARTICLE V.

H. C. M. engages to deliver to the French Republick in the ports of Spain in Europe, one month after the execution of the stipulation with regard to the Duke of Parma, six ships of war in good condition, of seventy four guns, armed and equipped, and in a state to receive the French crews and supplies.

ARTICLE VI.

The stipulations of the present treaty having no prejudicial object; but on the contrary preserving untouched the rights of every one, it is not to be presumed, they can excite the suspicions of any power. But if the contrary should happen, and the result of their execution should be that the two states are attacked or threatened, both powers engage to make a common cause, as well to repel aggression, as also to take those conciliatory measures proper to maintain peace with all their neighbours.

ARTICLE VII.

The obligations contained in the present treaty, in nothing annul those which are expressed in the treaty of alliance signed at St. Ildefonso, on the 2d Fructidor, year 4, (18th of August, 1796;) on the contrary they unite with new ties the interests of the two powers, and confirm the stipulations of the treaty of alliance in all the cases to which they can be applied.

ARTICLE VIII.

The ratifications of the present preliminary articles shall be completed and exchanged in the period of one month, or sooner if possible, counting from the date of the signing of the present treaty.

In faith of which, we, the undersigned, ministers plenipotentiary of the French Republick, and of H. C. M. by virtue of our respective powers, have signed the present preliminary articles, and have affixed our seals.

Done at St. Ildefonso, the 9th Vendimiaire, 9th year of the French Republick, (1st October, 1800.)

(Signed) ALEXANDER BERTHIER,
(Signed) MARIANO LUIS DE URQUIJO.

FINIS.

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